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ABSTRACT

Intended for trainers conducting preservice Peace Corps volunteer training, this manual presents materials to help trainees evolve an understanding of what role women can and do play in the developmental process and of its relationship to Peace Corps programs. An introduction discusses the design and use of the manual. The training goals are then listed. Materials are provided for five sessions: introduction to development, defining women's role in development, identifying roles of men and women in the community and their impact on development, study of a development project and its impact, and summary and application of learning. Each session is organized as follows: time, objectives, overview (summary statement of purpose and rationale and brief description of what will happen in the session), procedures (the training activities suggested to accomplish the goals and the approximate time to complete each activity), materials list, trainer notes (suggestions on how the procedures can be modified, tips on possible outcomes or problems, and suggestions for additional activities), and attachments and handouts (trainer reference or background material, resource articles, case studies, discussion questions, exercises, reading assignments, and inventories). (YLB)

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THIRD WORLD WOMEN

"Understanding Their Role In Development"

A Training Resource Manual

May 1981
September 1981

Core Curriculum Resource Materials

Office of Programming and
Training Coordination

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INTRODUCTION

General Approach to Women in Development

The term "women in development" means many things to many people. The role that women play in developing countries and the role that they can potentially play hold great significance for the type of development that takes place in those countries. In this Training Resource Manual, we are presenting materials that are designed to help the Training staff evolve with their Trainees an understanding of what role women can and do play in the development process and of the relationship of Peace Corps programs--including their own--to this role.

All too often the women's role in developing countries has been overlooked. The result has been development projects focused on wrong target groups or development projects that have had an adverse effect upon women in the country. The assumption that underlies the materials in this Training Resource Manual is that women critically affect the development of any given country and it is necessary to understand the role they are playing in order to understand how development is taking place in that country. Our general approach is to view women within the context of their own cultures and from within this context to pursue the implications of women in development.

We believe that a basic understanding of the issue surrounding women's participation in the development process is necessary for all who work in development projects. However, we believe further that the issues of women in development are not a discrete set of issues, but rather are an integral part of all development efforts. There is no separate program category for women in development, but instead it is part of programs in all sectors--from agriculture to health.

Design of the Training Resource Manual

We recognize that training program requirements differ, depending on the nature of the jobs and country to which volunteers will be assigned. However, we believe that the issues of women in development are relevant no matter what the nature of the program and that they are equally pertinent to men volunteers and to women volunteers. We also recognize that the time available to emphasize women in development issues may vary from program to program. Therefore, the Training Manual that follows is designed to give the Training

Staff the flexibility to meet certain core goals within the particular design of any given training program, as well as the ability to focus on those aspects of women in development most relevant to training.

The training sessions in the Manual are arranged in the sequence in which they should be delivered. The intent of this sequence is to allow the participants to build upon the knowledge and awareness gained in the preceding session(s). This "building block" effect should take place if the sequence is observed, whether the sessions are given as a block or are spread throughout a training program.

Each session contains training objectives to be attained by the participant upon completion of that session. All training objectives lead toward the accomplishment of one of the three central goals around which the Training Manual is designed. Thus, at the end of training, the participants should have attained the following three goals:

1. To identify the roles that men and women play in their host country and the impact that those roles have on:
   a) the development process in the country or community
   b) the participation of men and women in that process.

2. To understand the concepts of development and women in development and explore their meaning within the context of the host country culture, history and other realities.

3. To identify how the concepts learned relating to women in the development process may affect participant's future role as PCV's.

The intent that governs the materials and activities throughout this Manual is to increase the Trainees' levels of awareness of their own attitudes and behaviors, of others, and of the complex net of variables that affects development both locally and nationally. Cultural sensitivity is an integral part of these increased levels of awareness.

Also, the materials are generic in nature. They can be used in all Peace Corps training programs in all countries in which Peace Corps works. However, the design of the Manual assumes that country specific information will be gathered and considered during the course of the training program through the combined efforts of Training Staff, Program Staff and Trainees. The overall purpose of the Manual, then, is to provide the Trainees both a general understanding of the issues of women in development, as well as a particular understanding of the issues in relation to the country in which they will be working.

In order to focus Peace Corps Staff, Host Country Counterparts and Trainees attention on women in development issues, the subject of women in development should be incorporated with on-going Peace Corps training programs. By attempting to reach Trainees and Volunteers through the design presented we achieve a blending of concepts and issues surrounding women in development with considerations of Host country history and current realities; with current Peace Corps programming criteria and philosophy; with specific project content. With this training design we are hoping to avoid the trap of setting women in development apart as a separate issue from mainstream development issues.

Uses of the Training Resource Manual

The Women In Development Training Resource Manual is intended for Trainers conducting Pre-Service volunteer training. The Manual's design allows you to carry out training in the area of women in development which meets the goals of the core curriculum and which also introduces the area of development work. We suggest you keep the following points in mind when implementing this training program:

-The training should be spread throughout the training program as best suits your training design. We strongly recommend that it is integrated into training over several weeks time so that it does not stand apart as "WID training" during the training program.

-Certain parts of the training may be integrated with language or cross-cultural training, particularly the field work section.

-You should follow the sessions as designed. If you want to emphasize one aspect of the session over another, time can be added to that particular session.

Although the Training Manual is intended to provide flexibility, it is intended to do so only within the context of what is minimally acceptable in order to achieve the three interrelated goals that form the basis of the Manual. Thus, the various ways to structure the women in development training must provide for achievement of these goals according to the sequence in which the sessions or modules* are presented. Where appropriate, specific instructions and notes are included to assist the trainer in conducting and adapting a session.

Each session is directed toward the achievement of one of the three previously presented goals for women in development training. In addition, each module contains one or more training objectives. These objectives are expressed in terms of the behavior that Trainees are expected to exhibit upon completion of the session. Thus, each session provides the Trainer with both a framework for the training program as well as concrete expectations for that particular training module.

In order to facilitate the training process, we have included specific information and instructions for the Trainer in each module, as well as applicable training tools, such as handouts, samples of material and resource articles.

Each session is organized as follows:

- -Time
- -Objectives
- -Overview
- -Procedures
- -Materials List
- -Trainer Notes
- -Attachments and handouts

A few comments will help to describe what is included in each module.

Time

This is an estimated total number of hours and minutes it will take the trainer to complete a session using the time suggested for each activity described. The time estimate does not include time for "coffee breaks". The Trainer should include 15-20 additional minutes to each session in order to provide for the breaks. The specific moment in which the break is given should be determined by the Trainer according to the needs and pace at which the group is working.

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*"Session" and "module" are words used interchangeably throughout the Training Resource Manual.

Objectives

Each session has a set of objectives which will be achieved by the Trainees if they complete all the "Procedures" for that session. Achieving all the objectives for all the sessions should mean a Trainee will have achieved the three goals of the WID Training Manual.

Overview

This is a summary statement of the rationale and purpose of the session. It also briefly describes what will happen in the session or how the session will further the goals and objectives of the training.

Procedures

Within the Procedures section there is a breakdown of all the training activities suggested to accomplish the goals of the session, as well as the approximate time it will take to complete each activity. The Procedures are specific suggestions as to what the Trainer should do to implement the design and to ensure high Trainee involvement. For example, it includes guidelines to help the Trainer set the climate for the session, provide a rationale for the activities and give instructions for the participants to complete the various activities as designed. In addition, it provides guidelines for the Trainer on how to participate and include himself/herself in the training in order to guide the group or when responses from the group are not as anticipated.

As noted earlier, each session also contains suggestions about the way in which Procedures can be modified, according to the needs of the particular training program. In deciding how and whether to modify or reduce the time spent on a specific activity, the Trainer should consider the impact the change will have on accomplishing the objectives of the session to its maximum.

Materials List

This section specifies the handouts, flipcharts, reading articles. and other materials the trainer will need to conduct each session. In view of the types and locations of PC training sites around the world, the sessions are designed for low budget, low technology training. Materials listed as handouts to be reproduced have been kept to a minimum but if it were not possible to reproduce handout copies for each participant, in most cases, the material can be written and presented on newsprint or chalkboard for all participants to see and work. We have also pointed out as Optional those materials which may be helpful to have, but are not required for a successful session.

Supplies needed for all the sessions and which are not included in the materials list are: magic markers, preferably in various colors; newsprint and easel, large sheets of paper or chalkboard, chalks and erasers; tape; pencils or pens and notepads or paper.

Trainer Notes

The Trainer Notes section contains suggestions on how the Procedures for a specific session can be modified according to the needs of a particular training program, for example, larger groups of trainees. It also contains tips on possible outcomes or problems the Trainer may encounter when implementing a session and suggestions on what to do with them. In many cases, the Trainer notes provide additional examples of participants responses and suggest other ways in which the Trainer can stimulate discussions or present additional points of view relevant to the session's material.

Attachments and Handouts

At the end of each session we have included a series of materials that complement that session. The Handouts are materials which are to be distributed to the participants in order to complete an activity or exercise in a session. We recommend that they be reproduced and a copy made for each participant in order to facilitate individual work and small group discussions. The handouts include material such as case study, discussion questions, sentence completion exercise, reading assignments, observation sheets, assumption scales and others.

Other Attachments which are included in a session serve one of the following purposes: as reference or background material for the trainer to prepare his/her presentations or lecturettes; as sample material to serve as a guideline for the trainer to develop country specific information; and at least one resource article which the trainer may want to use as a reference and/or distribute to the participants as additional information.

General Recommendations:

1. Although the primary audience for the Training Resource Manual is Pre-Service Trainees, the Manual can be used with In-Service Volunteers in order to increase their understanding of Women In Development. The variations needed for adapting this training will depend on the experience and previous

training of the volunteers in country, but in most cases, variations can be minimal.

2. It is important that Pre-Service Trainers and Peace Corps staff in country apply, use and experiment with the materials and activities in this Manual. To assist Trainees and Volunteers in acquiring new knowledge and awareness of women in development, the "teachers" and resource persons will need to be clear on their own reactions to the issues and the role of women in development. Staff's participation and support during the WID sessions is most important in order to communicate to trainees the importance of this issue and its relevance to all other training and program activities. This participation will be best achieved if the Training and Program staff take the necessary time to prepare, study the material and discuss between themselves the issues of women in development as presented in the Training Manual, prior to conducting the training.

It is also important that male staff and male volunteers participate actively in presenting and training sessions of the WID Manual. This will help reinforce the idea that women in development is an integrated part of Peace Corps programming and not the exclusive concern of women.

3. We recommend the Trainer introduces the whole WID training program before implementing its first session by presenting to Trainees the goals of the program and giving a brief overview of each session and its activities and methods. This occasion can also be used to introduce the Program staff, PCV's and other persons who will participate as resources during the program. This initial overview and introductions will help to set the climate and provide an opportunity to clarify expectations participants may have of the program. This can be done as part of an introduction to the whole Pre-Service Training or as a short 30 minutes session before Module I of the WID Manual.

4. In order to monitor the progress and reactions of participants to the training program, we suggest the Trainer includes a short evaluation at the end of each session, if possible. This evaluation can help point out areas in which participants are accomplishing the objectives and those in which they are not. The Trainer can use these reactions to emphasize and/or modify the next session, assuring that Trainees are making the most of each training session. A short evaluation form is provided at the end of this section as a sample the Trainer can use for this purpose. The form can be used for a written or a verbal evaluation.

5. Most of the activities in this training program require a high degree of involvement on the part of the participants. They also require that participants move, discuss in small groups, prepare reports, make presentations, etc. It is important that when possible, the training facilities support these type of activities. The best physical space would be a spacious room with movable chairs, good ventilation and light, and plenty of walls on which newsprint or chalkboards can be presented.

6. The following books are general resource books which may be helpful in understanding the issues of women in development. They are suggested as reference for the Trainers, Staff and participants interested in further exploring the issues of women in development.

The Role of Women in Economic Development. Esther Boserup. New York: St. Martin's, 1970.

Third World Women Speak Out. Perdita Huston. New York: Prager Publishers, 1979.

Women and National Development: The Complexities of Change. Wellesley Editorial Committee. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Women and World Development. Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, ed. Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1976.

7. The following is a checklist the Trainer may find useful when planning the implementation of the WID program.

Checklist for WID Training

___ Review and study Training Resource Manual.

___ Present, discuss and work on Training Resource Manual with Training Staff and Program Staff.

___ Identify and invite supportive Training and Program Staff to work on WID Training.

___ Plan how to integrate WID sessions with rest of training program.

___ Identify and invite outside resources: PCV's, community people, others.

___ Gather and develop country specific information, bibliography and materials with the help of staff and other resources.

___ Produce copies of materials, handouts and flipcharts for each session.

___ Check facilities and make necessary arrangements.

___ Gather supplies and other materials needed.

___ Brief resources and staff on specific sessions in which they will be involved and clarify their role.

___ Prepare short introductory session and overview of WID training program.

___ Implement training modules adapting the sessions according to country situation, participants and staff evaluations.

___ Plan and implement follow-up activities with Program staff and trainees.

SAMPLE

TRAINING REACTION FORM

How satisfied were you with this session?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very Little Very Much

Because:

The objectives of this session were accomplished.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Very Little Very Much

Most valuable:

Least valuable:

I would emphasize:

I would change:

Other comments:

Women in Development Training Goals

1. To identify the roles that men and women play in their host country and the impact that those roles have on:
   a) the development process in the country or community
   b) the participation of men and women in that process.

2. To understand the concepts of development and women in development and explore their meaning within the context of the host country culture, history and other realities.

3. To identify how the concepts learned relating to women in the development process may affect participants future role as PVC's.

Module I: Introduction to "Development"

Total Time: 2 hours and 45 minutes

Objectives:

1. To review concepts and definitions of development as it relates to the role of the Peace Corps volunteer from the perspective of development work recipients.

2. To allow participants to examine their views about development in terms of the questions: what is development, and how do I fit into it.

3. To raise questions about overall development strategy such as where efforts should be placed (with what groups), who determines development problems, and who is involved in development strategies.

Overview:

This session provides an introduction to development work in general. It should raise questions in the trainee's mind about what it is they are entering into as development workers. The session should set the framework for subsequent development work training, preceding such sessions as development skills, community analysis, women in development, project management, and helping and consulting skills. Although this session is the first one in the WID Training Resource Manual, it is intended to serve as a framework for all development work sessions.

Procedures:

Time	Activities
Introduction 5 min	1. Introduce the session by stating some of the material in the overview above and by reviewing the major goals of the session. The goals should be written up on a flipchart or chalkboard.

It is assumed that the reading handouts for this session have been distributed prior to the session and that the participants have read the materials.* Ask the group if there were any questions raised by the reading. Without answering or discussing the questions (but clarifying as necessary) list a few of the questions on the flipchart and state that we will return to these and other questions during the course of the session. If they are not answered then, we will return to them in the summary at the end of the session.

Fill out Assumptions Scale handout
15 min

2. Distribute the Assumptions Scale handout and ask participants to fill it out. Tell them that the statements on the handout sheets have been selected on the basis of the reading assignment and will be used later for discussion purposes. They are to fill out the sheets by placing a mark on the number of the scale that best represents whether they strongly agree, strongly disagree or fit somewhere in between with the statement presented.

While the group is filling out the handouts, the Trainer should prepare several large sheets of newsprint with a mock-up (or copy) of the statements and scales so that individuals may later place their scores on it. For example:

Question #1

Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5

Question #2

SD				SA
1	2	3	4	5

Etcetera

Tape the prepared large sheets on the wall in front of the room.

Group marks on newsprints
5-10 min

3. Ask the participants to go to the large sheets on the wall and mark their scores on the newsprints provided.

Group discussion
60 min

4. Ask participants to si[illegible]ly look at the different scores on the wall [illegible]d notice similarities and differences. At the same time,

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*NOTE: If the reading has not been done, the session will work anyway, but it is better if they do it.

the Trainer reviews the sheets on the wall and selects the questions where there seems to be most disagreement in order to initiate the discussion. A full group discussion is held by asking such questions as "Let's hear from some of you who strongly agree with statement #4. What were some of your reasons for agreeing?" Then, take the opposite view and have it presented. Encourage discussion between group members and try to get them to talk and explain their views. Discuss the questions until the topics have been covered.

During this discussion it is very helpful to have host country representatives or staff involved in the discussion so that contrasts between trainee views and host country people can be explored.

Reflection
20 min

5. Instruct the group as follows: "You have read articles about how the role of Peace Corps in development is perceived by one host country person, and you have heard from a third world leader who argues that human development is much more important in the long run than material development. You have also discussed your reactions to statements which were abstracted from these writers and we have discussed your different points of view. Now I would like you to reflect on what all of this means to you. When you are ready, complete the following sentences using as many answers as you want which come to mind:

I see development as ____________________

I see my role in development as ________

Discussion
in pairs
15 min

6. Ask the group to form into pairs and read and discuss each other's statements.

Summary and
application
30 min

7. Ask the group to come back together and discuss any reactions to the conversations they just completed. Solicit individual statements about development as examples from the group so that others may get a sense of what participants are thinking.

Ask the group to present questions they now have that were not addressed during the session. If questions cannot be dealt with, explain how they will be addressed in subsequent sessions.

Finally, go back and review the goals of the session and ask participants if the session matched those goals. Link this session to the sessions that will follow stating how different aspects of development work will be addressed during the course of the training program.

Materials:

-Flipchart with goals, activity #1.
-Assumptions Scale handouts.
-Newsprint sheets with Assumptions Scale, activity #3.
-Flipchart with sentences for completion, activity #5.
-Reading handouts: "In Our Nepal", by Dor Bahadur Bista; "Time for Change", by Tarzie Vittachi; Definition of Development, a statement by K.K.S. Dadzie.

Trainer Notes:

1. This session is not intended to provide all of the answers about development work (or any or few). It should raise a lot of questions in the participants minds about values, approaches and where they fit into development work. It should serve as a frame of reference for the issues which are addressed throughout training and throughout volunteer service.

2. In step 4 a variation might be to form small groups with participants on both sides of a given statement and ask them to organize a 5 minute presentation of their point of view (like a debate) using whatever means they want (like a skit, a talk, etc.). If this is done, you will need to adjust the time accordingly.

3. The Handout "Time for Change" by Tarzie Vittachi was originally given as a speach on the occasion of the beginning of the 20th Peace Corps Anniversary Celebration at Michigan State University. The language is a bit "wordy", but it is included because it is a Third World leader speaking about his view of development. If the reader will bear with all of the rhetoric, there are a good deal of important concepts for Peace Corps work.

HANDOUT

ASSUMPTIONS SCALES ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

1. The Peace Corps development worker's views should be responsive to the "local people's" expressed needs instead of the central government's, no matter what the difference may be.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

2. The most effective volunteer is the one who understands his host country's weaknesses and helps the [people] to understand [them] by reasoning rather than any ... imposition from above."

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

3. The most effective strategy for long term development is to create and strengthen institutional structures which bridge gaps between local people (or those on the bottom) and resources for development.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

4. It is more important as development workers to provide the technical service for which we have been invited (teaching science, organizing co-ops) than to spend a lot of time sharing the frustrations and life styles of the people in some kind of overidentification trip.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

5. It is more important to help develop local leadership, working with one or two people who will carry on, than to get a lot of project work done which depends on volunteer know-how and drive.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

6. It is more important to work with children than adults because they are the future of the country.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

7. If I show people "American" ways of doing things, I am being a cultural imperialist.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

8. Persons with strong technical credentials from universities and plenty of experience are the most useful people for helping third world countries.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

9. A good development goal is one that shows how much production, income or other quantifiable output will occur.

Strongly Disagree Strongly Agree

1 2 3 4 5

HANDOUT

Definition of Development: a statement

"Development is the unfolding of people's individual and social imagination in defining goals and inventing ways to approach them. Development is the continuing process of the liberation of peoples and societies. There is development when they are able to assert their autonomy and, in self-reliance, to carry out activities of interest to them. To develop is to be or to become. Not only to have."

K.K.S. Dadzie
Director General for
Development and International
Economic Cooperation for
the United Nations

HANDOUT

TIME FOR CHANGE

Speech given by Tarzie Vittachi,
UNICEF-External Affairs Dep. Executive Dir.

There are times in the life of a human being when what one has been is no longer an adequate indication of what one could become. The past - so familiar, for some even comfortable - is then no longer a reliable pad from which the future may be launched, but an intricate though superficial structure of habit, conditioned thought and reflex, which make the past the prison of the future. It is so with individual living beings, with the human collectives we call nations, and with the world of nations.

But, because the present is largely the product, the repository of the past, and we must think and act today, in the here and now, we look over our shoulders towards the past, to where we have been, to find the methods, the instruments, the ideas and values which must guide us into the future.

And, indeed, we may find those signposts to the future in our past if we looked far and deep enough. All the wisdom we need we shall discover in what was eternal in the work of the perennial philosophers, in the Sutras of the Buddha, the Gospels of the Christ, the poetry and the myths which people have woven in the loom of life. But, alas, we do no more than pay them the courtesy of a cursory glance, of lip service to what they were for the world of their own times, discarding the inner, the essence of their teaching which was true for all times and for all peoples. And we are left with the husks, the outer forms which may have had meaning and value in their time, but not in ours. We have allowed ourselves to indulge in a hectic and beguiling secularism which the industrial and political machinery of the past few hundred years has introduced into our minds and into our lifeways; allowed ourselves to become victims of our own creations so that computer programmers have replaced poets; GNP per capita has replaced love and health as the measure of human development, so that to have more is to be more; economics has ceased to be the study of how human beings behave in the market place; and the Doctors of Economics have become the new witch doctors, producing complex preachments which regard the human being not as a sentient creature in the world's markets but as a commodity in those markets. And the new nostrum for the aim of nations is Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Productivity.

It is important for me to interpolate here a word of personal explanation so that I am not misunderstood. I am not a man of religion or even a man with a religion, but I am religious. I am not a Luddite with a brick to heave at machines because they replace human labour. On the contrary, I believe that often more opportunities for work are opened up by machines. But I am frightened at the insensitivity of governments and planners who import labour saving machinery in countries where opportunities for work as a means of earning a living and raising a family is becoming desperately short. And I am frightened, as Marx and Gandhi were, by the extent to which the machine system with its serried cohorts of faceless financiers, market analysts, advertisers and image-makers are alienating human beings from their world, eroding their autonomy, and depriving us of the ability to say, "No", to use the faculty and the right of choice about the way we and our children will live our lives.

I have been billed heretoday as a man from the Third World. But I ask you to accept me as a man from the world - your world and mine - because there is no such reality as the Third World. It is a term invented by a Frenchman, Alfred Sauvy, a demographer writing in Le Monde of a Tier Monde and it was adopted by people as a distance-making device to separate you from me. I believe that the Third World is not a place or a skin colour but a state of mind, an attitude of consistent concern and care about human beings who are condemned to live in conditions of material degradation that you would consider beneath the due of the hogs you raise and the cats and dogs and other pets on which your country spends $17 billion of the earth's resources each year.

Yet, let me say, that my special concern is not poverty - everyone of us here can afford to be poorer than we are - but with misery. The people of the Southern hemisphere, particularly the people of the sub-continent, are accustomed to poverty. Our culture is a culture of poverty. But the poverty we choose as a way of life is very different from the misery into which 2 billion people have been cast, unnecessarily cast, because those in the North as well as the South, with economic, political and intellectual power have failed to recognize that we have reached a critical stage in the history of our race. The age we are passing into calls for a fundamental change in social and political institutions, in economic measurements and objectives, in the perception of the magnitude and nature of human needs, in the values which have determined the content and direction of social order since the advent of the machine. But people with the capacity to bring about those changes are imprisoned by the mind-sets, the institutional pressures, the seductiveness of expediency, and the new gods of the market place they are required to salute if they are to attain and retain their power. We are all being taught the lesson that power corrupts not so much because it is intrinsically bad but because those who have it are afraid to let it go and will use it to defend even dead institutions, harmful methods and false values of a moribund epoch even when they themselves see that the future is not what it used to be.

Occasionally a man like John Fitzgerald Kennedy comes along and uses power to stir our common sense of humanity, to make change seem possible, to bring about a necessary revolution in the set perceptions of the world, in national and global relationships,to scout new ideas and to innovate.

He was a man on whom the crown of charisma rested gracefully an even dashingly because he evidently understood, intuitively, that charismatic power is not a gift of the gods but a loan, given to a few who were willing to look steadfastly along the continuum of change and persuade millions to shift their attention away from a concern with their own aggrandisement and towards making the lives of the less fortunate more liveable. Politician that he was, his intentions and actions seemed to converge so that people everywhere, of varying ideological persuasions, found him credible and mourned for him when he died.

There was in our time another man, in another place, a man of charisma who also spent his life in a courageous devotion to changing the world around him so that other people would live better lives. He brought about the most massive and far-reaching change in this century by destroying the mightiest empire in history without resort to a single gun. He sat at his spinning wheel in India and wrecked Lancashire and its textile mills 7,000 miles away. He was the inventor of the first inter-continental ballistic missile.

As a young journalist I had the great good fortune to meet Mahatma Gandhi in 1946. As a well-brought-up colonial, in honour of the occasion I was dressed to the nines, jacket, necktie and all the fixture. As I was being introduced to him he looked at me and remarked, "Oh, ho! One of our smart southern neighbors!" He took a very dim view of the Brown Sahibs who he knew were going to inherit the British Empire. I was mortified at the public chastisement I had been given in front of 40 people who were enjoying my discomfiture. He saw my suffering and took compassion on me, patting the space on the settee, inviting me to sit beside him, in a gesture of recompense. I was thinking desperately how I was going to recover my face and, like the intelligent boy in the classroom, I dreamt up an ingratiating question to ask: "Gandhiji," I said, "All of us in Asia are soon going to be free because of your work. If you had one piece of advice for all of us about how we should use our freedom, what would it be? He turned his face downward, purpling with a kind of sadness for a moment or two, and raised his eyes again, smiling that marvelous toothless grin of his, the Delhi winter sun glinting off his wire-frame glasses. Then he composed his face and said, "Reduce your wants, and supply your needs." And he added, "Our needs make us vulnerable enough. Why increase our vulnerability?" I look back over 35 years of free Asia since then and realise ironically that in all of Asia, only China has followed Gandhi's advice. We turned our backs on him and adopted the solecism that to have more is to be more.

There was a reason for this. The imperial system was a multi-national corporation. The British operated theirs on the principle of philanthropy plus 4 per cent. Give a little, take a little. And 4 per cent, forever, was a lot of little percentages. The Empire eventually ceased to exist not because its philanthropic mission was completed, as generally believed, but because the dividends to the little old ladies (of both sexes) in Brighton and Eastbourne were drying up. The corporation was running at a loss. The British Navy was too expensive to maintain after World War II and Prime Minister Clement Atlee broke up the corporate stock, handing the component parts over to local trustees who were likely to invest in the Commonwealth. And since these trustees were handpicked local elites, many of them graduates of Oxford, Cambridge and the London School of Economics, or barristers who had eaten the requisite number of dinners at the Inns of Court in London, they could be expected to play the game, hold a straight bat, preserve the colonial judicial system, practice Roman, Dutch and British legal law, and maintain the modes and customs of the Palace of Westminster, the Mother of Parliaments. And so they did, right down to the cricketing flannels, the full-bottom woolen wigs, the Speaker's Mace, the continued use of the English language in the administration and courts of law which, in many countries, was spoken only by 5 percent of the people, if that. The colonization of the mind of the new leaders was so profound that none of them - and this applies equally to the new rulers of the colonies of the French, Dutch and Belgians when they were eventually compelled to liquidate their empires - ever realized that now that they were free they had a dilemma to resolve: Should we go their way - the way of the imperial powers, that is to say, the way that Britain, France and all the other Europeans, and also the Americans, had developed in the past 200 years, the age of triumphant materialism, buying and selling agricultural produce in the international market system? Or should we go our own way, returning to our own traditional cultural practices and values which had been covered over by two to four hundred years of colonialism? Should we concentrate on human development in village communities, turn our nations into decentralized rural republics bartering each other's produce in the way that Gandhi had prescribed for India? Should we worship our own gods or theirs?

That dilemma was not even recognized as a dilemma by the new inheritors. Beings products of colonialism, they were not conscious of a possible choice. The future for them was a progression of the colonial present. To go the way of the metropolitan powers was to be modern. To go "back" to their own cultural heritage for guidance for the future was to retrogress, to be superstitious, naive, impractical, idealistic, unpragmatic. This view was shared by the Libertarian Democrats who inherited imperial authority and their opponents, and also the Marxists of various hues who, in the 40's and 50's had taken their ideas of the future from Stalin, Trotsky, Tito or Mao and from Castro and Che Guvara in the 60's.

The official inheritors, - Nehru of India, Senanayake of Sri Lanka, Sukarno of Indonesia, Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenyatta of Kenya, Nasser of Egypt, Kaunda of Zambia, the Tunku of Malaya, Aung Sang and U Nu of Burma, Roxas of the Philippines, the first Asian country to receive Independence, and the first inheritors of French and Belgian power in Asia and Africa, had no question in their minds about modernity and the future. They would each turn their nation into a brown, black and yellow Britain, France, Belgium or a small-scale America.

Concentration of political power at the centre, centralized economic planning as recommended by the pundits at the London School of Economics; urbanization; an economy based on exporting agricultural produce to the metropolitan markets in the north and importing manufactured goods, which vitiated all efforts at import-substitution through local industry; a hierarchal, desk-bound administration with its head in the capital city; a colonial style primary and secondary system with a curriculum designed by habit rather than deliberation to feed young boys and girls into the mill at one end and provide an unskilled clerk at the other; a university system largely modeled on the redbrick colleges of Britain; a hospital-based medical system concentrated on curative rather than preventive care, and on the cities rather than on the villages where most of the public live, were the principal features of most of the new nations.

A handful of nations like Singapore, Taiwan, to some extent South Korea, have successfully modernized themselves, as Japan has done, in the Western way and their leaders have become the blue-eyed boys of the West which is prepared to overlook the autocratic political methods used, on the engaging principle of selective indignation. Success, it seems, is the ultimate criterion of moral virtue. It has taken 20 to 30 years for the rest of the ex-colonial South to begin to realize that they will never become Little Englands, Frances, Germanys or Americas. They started 400 years too late. They have no colonies to exploit for their material development. All they can colonize is their own people. Men like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, the late Jayaprakash Narayan of India, and recently J.R. Jayawardene of Sri Lanka saw that political and economic decision-making needs to be decentralized and returned to village communities. Many leaders of the poor world are considering what is being called alternative development strategies, much of the thinking being done by the Society for International Development and by a little group in Geneva who have been trying to show that human development is they key to economic development. Their efforts seem to be having some effect not only in the South, but also in the North. The Brandt Commission Report and the 1980 Report of the World Bank reflect some of this thinking. The Bank, having invested massively for 30 years on high dams and highways, has at last discovered the low road to development. It has given powerful and eloquent support to the brand new idea that human beings are bankable. It has taken many of us 20 to 30 years of chasing chimeras to recognize that a billion destitutes are not a solid base on which a global future can be based.

It is about time. The auguries are both encouraging and discouraging. While the rate of immiseration grows, the reaction to the advocacy of change is a stiffening of resistance. Most people's perception of the world is determined by what they seek to protect. And so, we are observing a new wave of militant protectionism - trade protectionism to block the flow of goods, ethnic protectionism to prevent the flow of migrants, and even cultural protectionism as is happening in Britain to maintain the cultural purity of the race - a proposition which usually comesdown to a dislike of turbaned Sikhs driving double-decker buses in London and the smell of rice and curry.

In spite of these discouraging developments the problem has to be faced and its dimension and nature have to be recognized. From where I sat at the U.N. Population Fund for 8 years, and from where I now sit at UNICEF, the prospect is startlingly clear. In recent years it became evident to the demographers that the rate of population growth which some of them thought would grow exponentially, explosively, had begun to slow down. Growth rates were falling across the board - despite some aberrations as in Kenya, where the rate of population growth has topped 4 per cent. Women in most of the world, questioned by the World Fertility Survey, seem to want fewer babies than their mothers did. What this means to me, most importantly, is that contrary to the popular wisdom in this country, much of it, I fear, Republican wisdom, the poor world, more particularly the women of the world, have shown a remarkable sense of responsibility in the face of the challenge of conserving the depleting resources of the Earth. And let me say, much more awareness than better educated people here displayed since the Arab Oil Embargo of 1973 in their addition to gas guzzlling. Detroit's response at the time to the need for small cars was to say, "Gentlemen, let us build the biggest goddam small car in the business."

But, reducing fertility is only one side of the story. The more formidable side to it is that however fast the gospel of contraception may spread, it cannot stop 2.75 billion children being born in the next 20 years. Short of world-wide atomic war they will be born, arriving on this Earth not in 20 years, but today, tomorrow and in the days ahead. There is a real catastrophe looming. Of these 2.75 billion, nearly 400 million children will die unless we are able to get food into them and their mothers so that they can have breast milk at least in their first year, and keep them healthy when they leave the breast. But 1,800 million, nearly 2 billion, will survive. They will need education, health care, houses, transportation and jobs. How do we accommodate these new human beings in a world of super-abundance in the North, where butter mountains are ploughed back into the ground because the market could not absorb so much, as happened in Europe a few months ago, and a world of increasingly obscene poverty and hunger in the South. That accomodation must begin in our hearts and minds.

Is the thought so terrible to contemplate? Are the numbers too astronomical for us to begin to make a response? Is the necessary response too expensive to invest in? Why should that be so when we have accepted in our minds the irrationality, the sheer insanity of spending 470 billion dollars a year, a million a minute, on armaments, most of which must be useless because if anybody had any use for them we would not be around to ask the question?

Enough of horrors. Let us ask ourselves some unavoidable questions which might lead to answers. Can we resort to the old cop-out to staunch the flow of sadness in our minds, and say, "The poor ye shall always have with you"? That is the devil quoting scripture. There are too many of them, the poor, to ignore any longer.

Is the war and the preparation for war the only way to achieve peace? Bombs and guns, like other material things, have their own power to influence our minds. Shall we believe Konrad Lorenz and Robert Ardrey who claim that aggression is built into our genetic programme? Or shall we rather go with Richard Leakey, who insists that aggression is a cultural practice which began only when we stopped being hunter-gatherers and became settled farmers defending our perimeters 10,000 years ago? Or with Jonas Salk who believes that survival in the future is not for the strongest but the wisest? Both men believe that it is only a change of values which can take us into the 21st century and survive. The change they foresee is from aggression to cooperation, from internecine competition to consideration, from an obsession with curing the sick mind and body to health-oriented values and methods to prevent sickness, from rights to obligation, from a struggle for independence to an acceptance of interdependence. But although we have used that word for years, very few of us have seen that interdependence is not only a pragmatic recognition of reality. We know that economic nationalism is no longer possible, that cultural nationalism is a dying process, that even nationalism itself, strong as it is today, must eventually give way to regional and global governance on many major issues.We know interdependence is also a moral imperative. The implied answer to the old question: Am I my brother's keeper? is an emphatic yes. That is the only clear and unarguable answer to the question you will be asked with interesting vociferousness in the coming years when you try to explain the need for a new economic order: "Why should you care about people over there?" Because we must. We must because we are human and therefore obliged to care.

Let me end by quoting a passage from Simone Weil, that luminous lady who wrote of her vision of the future amidst the debris of war-torn London:

"The object of any obligation, in the realm of human affairs, is always the human being as such. There exists an obligation toward every human for the sole reason that he or she is a human being, without any other condition requiring to be fulfilled, and even without any recognition of such obligation on the part of the individual concerned.

This obligation has no foundation, but only a verification in the common consent accorded by the universal conscience. It finds expression in some of the oldest written texts which have come down to us. It is recognized by everybody without exception in every single case where it is not attacked as a result of interest or passion. And it is in relation to it that we measure our progress."

FOREIGN VOLUNTEER SERVICES: A HOST NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

by Dor Bahadur Bista

EDITOR'S NOTE: Continuing our ongoing discussion of the role of voluntarism in development, the Program & Training Journal here presents a host country point of view. Among the important contributions of the foreign volunteers in his country, Nepal, Mr. Dor Bahadur Bista mentions the example the volunteers set as embodiments of human dignity, equality, and concern for others. It is better, he suggests, to choose volunteers for their qualifications as outstanding human beings than for their qualifications as outstanding technicians. The points Mr. Bista sees as most important for planning a volunteer program are printed in boldface type.

"Foreign Volunteer Services: A Host National Perspective" is reprinted with permission from the Volunteer Gazette, *a journal published bimonthly in Nepal through contributions of the variety of international volunteer services centered in that country.*

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As representatives of the countries most advanced in material and educational aspects, youthful foreign volunteers with the spirit of adventure and a concern for humankind can help the peoples of less technically developed countries to develop technical skills and reasonable attitudes by broadening their horizon of knowledge.

Experience in Nepal has shown that money and materials alone cannot guarantee development—even if these were readily available. In Nepal, American, Swiss, German, and a few other friendly governments have been helping with money, material, and skilled foreign technicians for over a decade. This has influenced Nepal in numerous ways, but not all of them are positive. The Nepalis became ambitious and began not only to ask for more, but also, possibly, to depend too much on the foreign aid. Some began to blame the donor country for not giving as much aid as had been expected. Superficial styles of life became the preoccupation of the growing middle class in towns. Even though many good **things were accomplished, a great deal of apparent waste and misuse of foreign aid resources could be seen—in a country where over 85 percent of the population lives on a subsistence-level, primitive agricultural economy.**

Perhaps this happened because the Nepalese people were not correctly oriented, or perhaps because the various foreign aid agencies had too little knowledge of the actual situation in Nepal. But for whatever reason, this was the setting when the foreign volunteer agencies first appeared in Nepal.

The first volunteer groups in Nepal were an eye-opener to Nepalis: that even among westerners there were people who could carry their own loads, work with their hands, walk in simple clothes, live in simple Nepali rural houses, and eat the local food. What a tremendous achievement this was!

Of course, those volunteers were not welcomed, were not received and entertained by an enthusiastic crowd of cheerful Nepalis. The first volunteers were dreaded, suspected, watched twenty-four hours a day,

teased and tried, jeered at and tested for their reactions, rebuffed in their work. A number of unpleasant things happened to them.

However, since they first came, the volunteers have become, to many Nepalis, an embodiment of human values like equality, human dignity, optimism, concern for others, recognition of and respect for different ways of living and thinking of people regardless of their culture and level of technology or economic development. **It is, therefore, much more important to have a few better human beings than better technicians if it is not possible to combine the two together.** It is not that a tangible job by the foreign volunteers will not be appreciated, but anything done to recognize the abilities and worth of the average Nepali farmers is worth so much more in the long run.

In many ways, it must be a thankless job for some foreign volunteers, for even though the majority of the Nepalis would feel grateful to the volunteers, few will be articulate in expressing this feeling. It is likely that some Nepalis who are articulate or outspoken could even be critical if the volunteers did not do their jobs in a technically competent way. There would be a few, as there are in every human society, who would look at everything in a very negative way. No less difficult is the job of staying out of the manipulations of political interest groups. But the large majority of the Nepalis would feel differently. They are not able to express their gratitude in clear terms. One has to understand them only by looking at them, not by listening to them.

THE VOLUNTEERS' DILEMMA

There is always a dilemma for foreign volunteers from one other point of view too. The requirements as judged from the level of the government and as judged from the people's level are very different. The assessment of the field situation made by the Central Government is sometimes not representative of the aspirations of the rural people. This certainly presents a problem to the agencies' administration.

The agencies' offices in Kathmandu have to deal with and satisfy the various government departments. But it would be almost criminal if the agencies had to absolutely surrender themselves to the will and design of the bureaucrats. Almost any bureaucracy has to be dealt with cautiously, and certainly a bureaucracy composed of the upper class, western educated, superficially westernized elites of a very backward country with little means of transport and communication between the capital and the rest of the country has to be dealt with as much care and alertness as possible.

Nepal has always had a steep social-political hierarchy. There has historically not been a real encouragement for any independent thinking, initiative, or responsibility by the majority of the people. Decisions have always been made by a small number of people at the top. The people never had the chance to develop confidence in themselves. The society cannot really develop and be able to hold its own unless it has a self-respecting population. That is why it is so important to **let the people develop their own channels, institutions, skill and confidence while helping them to do a job, rather than having a foreign volunteer do all the chores, run errands for them, or become an influential agent between the government and the people.**

TRAINING AND SELECTION

Some of the descriptive aspects of a country should be told during the training of the volunteers in order to make them aware of physical and cultural differences. But more important than that—trainees should be taught how to keep themselves alert and open-minded to different ways, beliefs, attitudes and other standards of life, and try to understand why certain things are done or not done by others. Trainees should be told a certain amount of "do's and don'ts". "Do's" so that they can move in the society with a certain amount of confidence in the beginning and will not have to be embarrassed on every occasion. But more important than that, **they should learn that they will have to find out most of the things themselves.** They should be told that they need not worry too much about questions such as when to take off their shoes and which way to turn their feet up, etc. Certainly these things are useful to learn but the focus should never be turned from the important thing that *people are people* everywhere. After a certain amount of initial confusion and shyness, even the poorest Nepalis are capable of finding out who is a phony person and who is sincere in his efforts.

The foreign volunteers cannot afford to criticize everything by western standards, but neither does it really help to sympathize with the people to such an extreme as to defend and try to justify every weakness of the local people. **The most effective volunteer, I would say, is the one who understands the host country weaknesses and helps the local people to understand these weaknesses by reasoning rather than by any tradition or imposition from above.**

FOREIGN VOLUNTEERS AND DEVELOPMENT

If we are to accept that any country can develop only to the extent that its people develop, then we should concentrate more on developing the institutional processes ensuring the widest possible participation by the local people.

In spite of what the Nepali elite might say about the "fast developing Nepal," my own observation is that elites are generally upward oriented and therefore struggling to achieve economic goals without sufficient concern for the individuals who are sacrificed for prior decided economic development projects. Since the real beneficiaries of any economic achievement should be the large majority (which in Nepal would be the rural people), it is they who must achieve and maintain progressive attitudes. But this will not happen quickly under an authoritarian system since there is little dialogue between the authorities and the common rural people. **This is where, I believe, foreign volunteer agencies could help because they are the only organizations whose workers (volunteers) have direct relationships with the people at the lowest level without any vested interest.**

Foreign Volunteers can make the common people aware of the facts that there can be alternatives, that every individual human being has potential and that it is every person's right to aspire for a progressive future oriented life.

The volunteers do not have to go about lecturing the illiterate farmers as to how they could improve their lives. This can be done by constantly asking the right and the relevant questions. It would not be possible to list all the questions here, nor would it be possible to give a complete questionnaire even during training. However, it might be useful for trainers to give a few specimen questions in each field of activity in which foreign volunteers are involved. For example, in education, one could ask a man—why does he think schooling is good for his child? What does he think his child should learn from the school? How does he know that it is going to help the child? If he expects his son to be a white collar worker, would not everyone in the village want their children to be the same? If everybody became clerks who will produce grain? Who will look after the cattle? If there were no cattle where would milk and other products come from? etc.

In agriculture the questions would be, for example, why does he plant corn or rice every year? Why does he plant the same thing every year? Or if he has a variety why does not he think that there can be a few more worth trying? Has he tried the same type and exactly the same quantity of fertilizer every year? If he has ever experienced a slight change in any of these, why does he hesitate to try it this time? If he is not trying a grain which would bring him more yield but which he does not like to eat, the question could be put to him—has he really eaten exactly one and the same kind of food all his life? Has he ever had to try a thing repeatedly a few times before he began to like it? Why then does not he try the new thing which promises better yield, therefore better income?

The same thing could be done to help the people grow out of their superstitions. Of course this is a sensitive area and the questions have to be a sincere curiosity rather than prejudicial and condescending. If a Nepali feels he is attacked he will certainly feel defensive and shut himself off. But if approached well he might try to explain and find himself questioning some of it himself. He could very well say "What an ignorant American or German or Japanese; ha! ha!" But this could not hurt the volunteer in any sense. By playing a low key the volunteer appears less threatening and therefore more easily acceptable in the community. It is not necessary for any volunteer to try to establish himself as an authority.

The idea of specialization has not penetrated beyond a few highly educated people in Kathmandu, let alone the villagers. All of the villagers and a large percentage of the urban people live in a self sufficient economy with a preliterate, informal, educational system whereby every individual can become his own authority in everything. Respect for specialized professional discipline is entirely a western style and the volunteer should be taught this in full detail until he completely understands it by the end of the training program.

THE OBJECTIVE: COMMUNICATIONS

When we think of the program in this way it becomes imperative that we send only the best people and ensure their maximum contact with the local people. What programs they have to work with and how much material success they achieve becomes secondary. **The main objective should be maximum communication between the volunteer and the villager.**

I do not believe in crash programs when we are dealing with human values and cultural milieus. I would not make goodwill ambassadors of all foreign volunteers, telling everyone that all the Nepalis are the best and finest human beings in the world. But the foreign volunteers should be able to share the feelings, aspirations, and frustrations of the people; by virtue of their superior education they should be able to guide them (conceptually and administratively more than technically) to get organized and move ahead with confidence and optimism. What the volunteers do professionally—teaching science, organizing co-ops, or whatever—is only the framework.

My own participation in three Peace Corps training programs for Nepal has convinced me that training can help us only to a point. The trainees have to have all the necessary background and qualities of a good volunteer before they come to the training site. Training certainly provides a large mass of information and technical skills; it polishes ideas. But it is only a speeding up process, not a creation of anything new. Here I would like to insert a Nepali expression which in effect says: "the more you forge a piece of gold the more varieties of ornaments are made. It is only when you hit the iron that the deadly weapons are turned out."

There are certain things that the trainees have to be told and made aware of during the training period. For example, they should be prepared for the eventuality of not being able to find the job as originally described.

Highly trained technicians often do not seem to have much patience with people because their focus of attention is on the mechanics of the technical job which makes it as an end in itself. For example, I knew one volunteer agriculture specialist working on a government farm. He was a very conscientious worker and was appreciated by some people. But since his contact with local people was confined within the farm, he had the most horrible opinion of Nepalis in general. Therefore, he was liked by agriculture technicians mostly. To my opinion a combine-harvester could have done as good a job as he did.

Granted, we do need technical people, skill, and projects. We should not at any cost, however, have the people lose their self-confidence and pride in themselves: above all, we must not lose the optimism that helps people to survive amidst scarcity and poverty.

I believe that there must be a way to arouse people into action and to make them aware of the things they are missing; to encourage them to ask questions of their fellow villagers, of government officials and of themselves without having them lose their self-respect, self-confidence and their natural charm. **Therefore it seems sensible to have foreign volunteers work only in the areas where there is maximum contact and dealing with the maximum number of people.**

NUMBER OF FOREIGN VOLUNTEERS

For effective, close relationships with the local people, a minimum number of volunteers in any given place or area is essential. **The larger the number of volunteers the harder it is to make a breakthrough into a community.**

There are two definite disadvantages in having a large number of Volunteers in any one place in Nepal.

1) Nepalis, in most cases, would be initially shy and reserved vis-a-vis the volunteers. They do not feel at home with foreigners very easily. So there can be only a superficial contact with them when they see volunteers move around in bunches.

2) The same thing would apply to the volunteers in some respects. If there are volunteer friends, they would naturally share their emotional, intellectual and social lives more with their fellow volunteers than with the Nepalis in the locality. The constant presence of volunteers grouping together does not encourage the cross-cultural communication either in the volunteers or in the villagers. Rather it imposes a weight upon the people and makes them feel humble. Volunteers lose or never develop interest, and tend to become inaccessible to the local people.

The attitude of the poor of developing countries toward the rich may be different from that of the poor in advanced countries. In any case, in many developing countries the rich are seen as direct threats, as potential exploiters of the poor and therefore weaker people. The presence of a prosperous-appearing person is by no means a welcome thing in rural Nepal; a foreign volunteer may not be welcomed by local people and local political workers even though the Central Government may have assigned him to serve in that area. **Therefore, as a rule of thumb, foreign volunteers should be so placed that it requires a real effort for two of them to get together, to encourage them to work directly—and exclusively—with the community.** A "real effort" in Nepal could be defined as a two-day walking distance in the hills, or a one-day journey in the terai.

Module II: Defining Women's Role in Development

Total Time: 2 hours and 45 minutes

Objectives:

1. To develop a working definition for the term "women in development."
2. To understand the reasons for the introduction and use of the term "women in development."
3. To identify major problems and needs specific to the country in regards to women in the development process.
4. To verbalize personal thoughts and assumptions regarding women in development.

Overview:

This session provides an opportunity for participants to understand the rationale, history, worldwide and country information which support the origins and use of the concept women in development. It also provides an opportunity for participants to compare their initial reactions to the concept after they acquire a better understanding, as they analyze the information received and develop their own, acceptable definition of women in development. This session should link naturally to the prior session which defines development in the context of Peace Corps work.

Procedures:

Time	Activities
Introduction 5 min	1. Introduce the session by summarizing the goals and by stating that this unit will build on the previous session on the role of the volunteer in development by focusing on the area of "women in the development process".
Brainstorm 10 min	2. Brainstorm on WID. Ask participants to list phrases, words or comments that come to their mind or they have heard regarding women

in development. As participants verbalize their comments, the trainer lists them in newsprint.

This is a fast paced exercise. Participants should be encouraged to say "what's on their mind", even though it may sound "crazy". The purpose is to generate a great number of ideas and to postpone the evaluation or analysis of those ideas until a next phase. The listing should not last more than 10 minutes.

Post the list on the wall so that everyone can see and tell participants that the list will not be discussed at this point, but will be used again at the end of the session.

Some participants responses may be: women's lib; cultural imperialism; family breakdown; more opportunities for women; better utilization of human resources.

Lecturette
15 min

3. Present a short lecturette on the history and rationale of the term "women in development".

Lecturette: "As we have seen looking at the list we just produced, people think of many different things when the term "women in development" is mentioned. Some of these associations are correct, some are misconceptions. It is necessary to clarify how the concept was originated and how it is used in the development field and in Peace Corps.

The term "women in development" is a new term being used more and more. Often it is referred to as its acronym "WID". However, like many new terms, it does not have an easily accepted definition. The concern with "women in development" has arisen as the result of observations of development workers, planners and researchers that women were being left out of the development process. Sometimes, they were not being included in projects that were aimed at bettering the lives in their communities, and other times, because they were not taken into consideration, they were placed in a worse position as a result of changes brought by these projects. Most frequently, women were just overlooked. Their work was assumed to be insignificant in terms of the economic development of their communities. However, such assumptions overlooked the often carefully balanced relationship and mutually supportive roles between men, women and children which characterizes subsistence societies.

As persons involved in development work realized that neglect of women's role had implications for development and for the success and failure of development projects, it became important to understand and study the implications of women's roles and their status in development efforts.

In the United States, the issue of "women in development" first surfaced, expressed in this terminology, in the early 1970's. As a result of the concern expressed about the non consideration to women and the negative impact of some development projects on women, the United States Congress adopted the "Percy Amendment". The Percy Amendment requires all USA government agencies and government funded projects to examine the impact of their projects on women in order to develop more equitable and effective development projects. Peace Corps, as a government agency was required to comply. However, beyond the legal requirement, Peace Corps, with its concern for basic human needs at the village level realized that a concern for women in development was an integral part of its mission and programming efforts.

The women in development issue is international in scope. The Conference in Mexico City held to commemorate International Women's Year in 1975 called attention to these issues and adopted an Agenda for Action, which includes 5-year goals arrived at by a group of international women, including many representatives from developing countries."

Distribute handout(s)

(At this point distribute the handout International Women's Year Goals for Action 1975-80 and read it aloud. If it is not possible to have a handout, the goals can be presented in flipchart.)

"Many countries have integrated these goals into their national plans for development." (Reference should be made at this point to the National Plan for the Integration of Women in

Development, if such a plan is available. See sample provided.) "Even though these are goals that have been articulated and agreed to by many governments, in most countries they are a long way from being accomplished.

Our next activity will present you with data, worldwide and country specific on how women have been "overlooked" and not considered in development efforts and some negative impacts that some projects have had on women in this and other countries. It will also present you with information on successes and failures in trying to accomplish the goals for integration of women in the development of this country and some data on the importance of their role."

Data presentation 30 min

4. Data presentation. The trainer and/or resource person gives a 20-30 minute presentation on Facts on Women in the Development Process.

This activity can be organized in many ways. The presentors should plan in advance the content and methods they will use for the delivery of this activity. The main goals of this activity are:

- To present participants concrete information and examples on how women have not been included or considered in development projects. Also, to present examples of development efforts which have had negative impact on women because their role in community life was not taken into consideration.

- To present information on the "status" of women in the country, including vital statistics, needs and problems faced by women, successes and failures as attention is given to the integration of women in the development process. Also, information on important roles played by women which have not been taken into consideration in development projects.

This session requires that the trainer do a lot of preparation beforehand, gathering information on the country, reading worldwide examples on the issue, talking to people in the country with knowledge of women's roles and problems, asking staff for examples of in-country projects which have considered or not considered women and other relevant information.

Following are a series of suggestions and guidelines on how to prepare this session:

a. Start session by asking participants to produce examples of development projects in which women have been overlooked or which have had negative impact on women. These could be briefly discussed and used as a starting point for presentation of additional information. If participants do not have examples, the trainer starts by presenting some.

b. Distribute and have participants read a Data Sheet on Women in Development prepared in advance. Use it to generate discussion and clarify with examples the issues of women in development. (A sample data sheet is provided and guidelines for its preparation are included at the end of this session.)

c. A slide show, pictures or other audiovisual material can be integrated in this presentation, particularly slides of women in their different roles in the communities.

d. A resource person from the host country can be invited to make the presentation.

During the presentation, the trainer or resource person should refer to the brainstormed list generated at the beginning of the session when appropriate in order to clarify misconceptions and erroneous information and perceptions of women in development the participants have. Stress should be given to country specific information and examples.

Sentence completion 10 min

5. Distribute the sentence completion exercise sheet to the participants. Ask participants to write down the thoughts that occur to him/her in order to complete each of the sentences in the exercise. Participants should not "think too much" on the answers, but complete the sentences with the first important thought that comes to their mind. Give an example of the procedure before asking the participants to complete the exercise. Have participants complete the exercise individually and in silence.

(The trainer may add or delete items on the sentence completion sheet provided and adapt it to suit the needs of the group and the country. It is recommended that no more than 10 sentences be used.)

Group sharing
20-30 min

6. In total group, trainer re-reads sentence and asks for 2 or 3 endings from the participants responses. As appropriate, trainer leads discussion on the sentences. In the process of sharing the endings, the trainer should seek for diversity and similarities among the group. Where possible, trainer should establish links with previously gained knowledge about the economy, society or other features of the host country.

Examples of the types of responses to be expected are:

"If women wait before joining the mainstream . . .
...they will never get in as equals
...they will fall further behind
...they will have more time for a satisfactory transition from a traditional to a non traditional role
...they will benefit from other's mistakes

This activity ends with trainer pointing out the controversial nature, the diversity and the complexity of the issues of women in development and thus, the need to develop some working definitions to guide future work.

Subgroups
work
20 min

7. Group is divided into subgroups of 5-6 participants each, to develop their own definition of women in development based on the discussion and knowledge they now have on the subject. In developing their definition, participants should attempt to capture and address some of the complexities and controversial aspects of women in development. They should also draw on previous discussions on "development". The following restates the task for the subgroups:

Task: Develop and agree on a definition of women in development. Write your definition on newsprint and be ready to present to total group.

Group definition 30 min

8. Group reconvenes and each subgroup presents its definition. Trainer facilitates group discussion by identifying common elements and listing them on a newsprint. Based on all definitions, a common definition should be attempted. (If participants definition is too limited or misconceived, trainer should introduce his/her points of view and if necessary provide a more "complete" or "acceptable" definition. See sample of WID definitions provided.)

Closure 15 min

9. As a closure activity, refer to brainstormed list produced in activity #2 and involving participants in the analysis, go through the list eliminating phrases and comments which represent misconceptions of the term. At the end of this session, participants should have a clear picture of what WID is and is not; going through the initial brainstorm can provide an assessment of whether this is true or not. If all misconceptions and doubts can't be clarified, point out that future sessions will facilitate further understanding of "women in development". If appropriate talk about the "temporary nature" and need of focusing and using the term WID (See trainer note 2b.)

Restate group's definition and summarize the work of the session. As a bridge to the next session, trainer can say: "How this definition takes concrete shape in this country is what we will be discussing in our next session as we take a closer look at: roles of men, women and families; opportunities and constraints faced by each, and, examples of projects, activities and dilemmas of WID programs in this country."

Distribute article on Women in Development.

Materials:

-Flipchart with major points of lecturette: History and rationale of Women in Development
-Handout or flipchart on International Women's Year Goals for Action 1975-1980
-Handout or flipchart on National Plan for the Integration of Women in Development (Optional)
-Handout or flipchart: Facts on Women in the Development Process (Optional)
-Audiovisual material for Data presentation: activity #4 (Optional)

-Sentence completion exercise handout or flipchart
-Task flipchart, activity #7
-Definitions of WID (Optional)
-Handout article on Women in Development
(To be selected by Trainer)

Trainer Notes:

1. This session emphasizes giving information as a strategy to change misconceptions, negative attitudes and resistance participants have regarding the concept of women in development. It is only a first strategy in a process of developing awareness and commitment to WID programming but it is very important. Emphasis is made on the responsibility of the trainer in this session to provide correct and relevant information on the various aspects of women in development in which misconceptions, lack of information, erroneous generalizations, etc. might hinder participants acceptance of the concept.

Most of the participants, if new trainees in country, will have little or no knowledge of what a developing nation looks like, its problems, needs, dilemmas and changes. Their only reference point, in most cases, is life in the USA, an extremely developed country. When participants use that experience to evaluate and generalize experiences in the new country, their conclusions are many times erroneous, their associations misguided, and their generalizations wrong.

An example is when participants assume that the role of women in developing countries is the same as that of middle class housewives in the USA, a situation often confronted in the pilot testing of this manual, i.e. not knowing the difference between "having the option to stay at home, take care of the children and not work", versus, "having to take care of the children, work in the field, sell products in the market, fetch water, dry and prepare the food and do other household tasks which take hours to complete", a USA versus a developing country experience for women.

Other examples are when participants don't see the need to understand or talk about WID because "they are college educated and have gone through awareness raising in the USA" or "because they don't know enough about the country or don't want to impose their values." These comments are examples of the erroneous assumption that awareness about women's rights in the USA is similar to integrating women in the economy and education of a developing country.

The need to provide adequate information regarding the roles, conditions and problems of women in developing countries is of utmost importance in addressing these misconceptions and erroneous assumptions. In addition, only by providing this information can participants develop the background and knowledge that will help them address the issues of WID in their projects and communities.

2. Because of its emphasis on information giving, this session does not provide activities to deal with highly emotional reactions that some participants have when the term "women in development" is introduced. Again, because of automatic associations people make with past experiences, some participants have strong reactions, either positive or negative, to the term. In both cases, these reactions are basically irrational in nature and hinder people's abilities to "hear" and accept information and new data. It has been our choice to emphasize the rational aspects of the issue of women in development. The trainer will have to find his/her own way of dealing with the "irrational" aspects that the concept triggers in many persons--patience, information giving, non defensiveness and asking people to wait until all sessions are completed were helpful strategies for the pilot testers of this manual.

   Specific strategies which were also helpful were the following:

   a) Emphasizing the complimentary or "systems" nature of the family in a subsistence society and thus, the importance of focusing on the woman, as a major component of that family.

   b) Emphasizing the "temporary" nature of the term women in development. Seeing "women in development" as a temporary strategy to increase everybody's awareness of the impact of women's role in development. When this awareness is reached, there will be no need to continue focusing on "women" vis a vis other "persons" in the community.

   c) Differentiating between women in a developed country and women in a developing country: their needs, problems, roles, contributions, others.

   d) Identifying men and host country persons who were supportive of the concept and the term and using them as providers of information, examples and anecdotes.

e) Postponing addressing issues raised with negativism and hostility until major parts of the information are provided. Clarifying that the intent of training is not to change personal attitudes, but to ask that people look at their attitudes, study the information provided and assess the impact of those attitudes on their future work. The concern is future work, not abstract values or personal feelings.

3. If it is not easy to reproduce handouts, activity #5 can be implemented without distributing handouts to each participant. Instead, present the sentences in a flipchart or board for the participants to read and answer individually on a piece of paper.

4. There is a danger in this session of causing negative reactions in participants to the concept of WID by "overkill" (trying to "convert" people to an idea or providing too much information which is overwhelming). The best stance would be to provide enough information to raise questions in the participants minds and let them come to their own conclusions in the course of the following sessions.

HANDOUT

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR GOALS FOR ACTION 1975-80

- a marked increase in literacy and civic education of women, especially in rural areas;
- coeducational technical and vocational training extended to women and men in the industrial and agricultural sectors;
- equal access to education at every level, compulsory primary education for all, and action taken to prevent school dropouts;
- increased employment opportunities for women, reduction of unemployment and greater efforts to eliminate discrimination in the terms and conditions of employment;
- equal eligibility to vote and to seek elected office;
- greater participation of women in policy-making positions at the local, national and international levels;
- increased provision for health education, sanitation, nutrition, family education, family planning and other welfare services;
- recognition of the economic value of women's work in the home, in domestic food production and marketing and voluntary activities not traditionally remunerated;
- direction of formal, nonformal and lifelong education toward the reevaluation of man and woman, in order to ensure their full realization as an individual in the family and in society.

SAMPLE

NATIONAL PLAN FOR THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT
HONDURAS 1979 - 1983

GOALS:

1. Increase and improve the conditions for women's participation in the economic process, especially for low income women.
2. Increase employment conditions and income levels of women in order to improve their well-being and that of their families.
3. Increase awareness in women and the general population of the role of women in society and her importance as a human resource in order to achieve the objectives of national development.

POLICIES:

1. The process for incorporating women in development will be initiated through pilot projects which are in accordance with the objectives and strategies of national development at the local and regional levels.
2. The priority for projects and actions for the incorporation of women will be directed towards rural women, women head of households and young women.
3. Preference will be given to the incorporation of women in productive activities complementary to those of men and compatible with her role as a mother.
4. Support mechanisms which will help bring together women's productivity in the home with market production and the functions of men, with those of women will be identified and established in order to maintain and improve family integration and well-being.
5. The participation of women in the decision making process through proper organization will be the basic strategy to guide actions in this area. Thus, the necessary conditions for the integration of women in different types of organizations, especially of a productive nature will be encouraged.
6. Intra and inter agency coordination in the women's area will be encouraged in order to prevent duplicity of efforts and underutilization of resources.
7. Institutional programs directed at women will be re-oriented in accordance to the objectives and strategies of this Plan.
8. External technical cooperation and support in the women's area will be channeled in accordance to the objectives and strategies of this Plan.

SAMPLE

GUIDELINES FOR COUNTRY SPECIFIC PRESENTATION ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

I. Basic demographic data:

a. % of population by sex
i.e.-Women are 50.4% of the population

b. % of education by sex, for different levels
i.e.-23% of college population are women

% for illiteracy
i.e.-21% illiteracy among women versus 16% male; urban areas
-52% illiteracy among women versus 49% male; rural areas

c. % of economically active; official and unofficial
i.e.-16% of women are economically active
-67% of women in urban areas are economically active
-9% economically active (official); 35% economically active (not official) (does not take into account unpaid activities)

d. % of family heads by sex; urban and rural areas
i.e.-27.6% of women with children are family heads
-23.8% in rural areas and 35.1% in urban areas

e. % of children per family and population growth rate
i.e.-Population growth rate is highest for the continent, 5.2 children per woman

f. % of men and women participation in major economic activities
i.e.-Women are 40% of the tobacco work force and 90% of coffee workers
-80% of women engage in tobacco manufacturing; 66% in handicrafts production

g. Salaries paid to men and women in major economic activities
i.e.-tobacco industry: men: 3 lempiras, women: 2.5 lempiras

h. % of women working in "homebound" activities versus outside the home activities
   i.e.-Married women predominate in activities within the home such as washing and ironing clothes, crafts, food selling and single women predominate in activities outside the home such as crop work and markets.
   -In sample study the net income of women working in homebound activities was higher than those for women working outside the home.

II. Principal roles and functions performed by men and women in the country (Agriculture; industry; family; informal activities)
   i.e.-Women perform subsistence economy roles such as preparation of food, home maintenance, water and fuel gathering; child raising
   -In the tobacco industry women classify and thin; men plant and cut
   -Women prepare and sell foods like tortillas, bread and help male in the subsistence plot
   -In industry, women are involved in the packaging and processing of crops; men are involved in the production and marketing

III. Major opportunities and barriers traditionally faced by women

a. Legal: divorce and marriage codes; property rights; family and children support; inheritance; infidelity and criminal laws
   i.e. Male (husband, father or brother, can kill the wife if she is "unfaithful" and will not be processed.

b. Educational: general education; vocational; primary, secondary and college levels
   i.e. Unofficially, women are not permitted to enter 2 out of the 3 agricultural institutions in the country

c. Religious and social traditions, customs, expectations, other
   i.e. Patrilineal or matrilocal society?

d. Economic: Credit, land ownershipl others
   i.e. Credit to farmers is limited to land guarantee; generally, women do not own land

e. Political: Participation or lack of participation in political processes
   i.e. Lack of women's participation in JDR, the most important decision making body at the community level

IV. Major changes occurring that benefit women (Identify socio-economic classes affected)

Changes in restrictive legal codes; sufrage; educational opportunities; political participation; job opportunities; others

i.e.-In 1961, women were 14% of college students; they were 23% in 1974
-Creation of Housewives Clubs, government programs which provide health services, sewing classes, vegetable and nutrition education, lunches for children and other activities for women
-Implementation of experimental projects such as collective plots for vegetable and fruit crops; production and marketing cooperatives for women's products; others

SAMPLE

DATA SHEET ON WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: SOME FACTS AND EXAMPLES OF NEGATIVE IMPACT OR LACK OF CONSIDERATION OF WOMEN IN THE DEVELOPMENT PROCESS

1. In Lesotho, 60% of male population is migrating to job centers outside the villages. There is a new need to educate women and improve curricula and teaching materials so that women get agricultural and other technical training they need to "take over" the jobs men are leaving. In countries where the education is segregated, this means developing female teachers in these areas.

2. The changes from subsistence economy to income generation economies have brought major consequences for women in the agriculture area:

    a. In subsistence societies division of labor is by sex, but male and female roles are more mutually supportive and equally vital to the family economic unit. The shift from subsistence crops to cash crops has altered the division of labor and left women in a less important role.

    b. Weeding is a woman's task; by bringing more land into cultivation or mechanizing one aspect of farming and leaving traditional women's task without improvement, women have to dedicate more time to the cash crop, from which they usually do not receive any income (they are usually unpaid workers), and have less time for the subsistence crop.

    c. Traditionally, new agricultural methods have been taught to men. Mechanization has been introduced and taught to men.

    d. Cash crops usually take up subsistence land or displace the subsistence plot to less fertile, farther land; these usually have consequences like, more time for the woman to take care of the subsistence crop, less yield and thus, less income from selling of excess products, less food for the family.

3. 70% of agricultural labor force of the world are women; yet they are unpaid family workers and their contribution to the economy is not recorded, i.e. according to official records, in Africa only 5% of the women are economically active in agriculture.

4. Industrialization of informal activities such as washing and ironing clothes, traditional homebound activities from which poor women derive income, have pushed out women from these roles and given the new industrialized jobs to the men i.e. laundries in tourist areas in Mexico.

5. Roads change the pattern of marketing, making middlemen more accessible to come and buy directly from the farmer. Women are thus deprived of traditional cash earnings from marketing activities. A new need develops to train women in marketing, cooperatives and other ways to "upgrade" and compete with the "middleman".

6. Agricultural research on food crops and application to staples women grow usually lags far behind that research on cash crops typically grown by men.

7. Upgrading of dwelling units in the urban sector is usually accompanied by commercial and animal keeping restrictions. Many poor women's jobs are performed around the home and these restrictions affect their income generation opportunities, or their ability to provide food for the family.

8. Not upgrading the productivity of the informal sector i.e. handicrafts, usually leaves women far behind. Many times the market is non existent, the production non diversified and women have not received any training for marketing, accounting, nor credit or loans.

9. Because development puts competing demands on time and energy of women, there is a big need for time saving devices for traditionally female tasks such as grinding, drying, preparation and preservation of foods. There are examples of projects in which oil pressers, tortilla making machines and sago processing machines (Nigeria, Mexico and Sarawak), were purchased and operated by men (men had access to credit and training). The women ended up waiting, standing in line for long hours for the use of the machines.

10. One fourth to one third of world households have women as a sole provider. Most are the poorest families in the poorest societies.

HANDOUT

SENTENCE COMPLETION EXERCISE:

1. If women wait until a country is developed before they join the economic mainstream, then ____________________ ____.

2. When women work in non traditional roles, men lose ___ ____.

3. The fact that women's contributions to the economy are not calculated causes ______________________________.

4. Evidence that men make most of their community's political decisions indicates ________________________ ____.

5. Women play a greater role in providing for the community's basic human needs because ______________________________ ____.

6. I believe women will/will not participate in my project because ____.

7. When men think of development they don't think of women playing a role because ______________________________ ____.

8. When women think of development they don't think of themselves as playing a role because __________________ ____.

9. Men's role in development is ____________________________.

10. Women's role in development is __________________________.

Others:

The role of men in regards to women in development is....

When women work in non traditional roles, men gain.......

SAMPLE

Definitions of Women in Development:

--Including and integrating women in the development process so that they are empowered and have equal choice and opportunities to improve the quality of life and impact on their own and their societies destiny.

--For women to be treated as an integral part of a project's design and to assess project impact on women as part of its costs and benefits.

--The issues of women in development are: How can projects respond to women's needs and make use of their abilities? Can opportunities be found for women to participate and share in the benefits of a project? How can projects overcome potential limitations on women's access to funds and services? What is current socioeconomic role of females in each project area, and what implications might that role have for the design of the project? Might a project affect women detrimentally? How can those effects be identified and prevented?

--Consideration and participation of women in the development process; it involves designing projects that include men and women as equal partners or benefits them equally.

BACKGROUND NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND RATIONALE OF THE TERM WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT: WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PEACE CORPS POLICY

INTRODUCTION

It is the policy of the Peace Corps, as stated in the 1978 Amendment to the Peace Corps Act, to administer itself "so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economics of developing countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort."

That Amendment was introduced by Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill), who was responsible for a similar provision in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973. Both laws cite as the rationale for this provision "the fact that women in developing countries play a significant role in economic production, family support, and the overall development process."

BACKGROUND

During the early 1970's the development assistance community increasingly became aware that it is not safe to make the assumption that women are "being taken care of" in the course of development. In fact, there are documented examples of well-intentioned projects that have impacted adversely on the population of women within particular cultures. Women sometimes have been robbed of status, secure social positions and economic opportunities as a result of projects that fail to take into account the probable impact on women.

In 1974 the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women prepared a World Plan of Action, in which development was a major theme. Over 100 nations were represented at the International Women's Year conference in Mexico City, which unanimously adopted the World Plan. Subsequently the UN General Assembly declared 1976-1985 as the Decade for Women, with subthemes of Equality, Development, Peace. Peace Corps' commitment to the women in development policy, then, is part of this worldwide concern.

DEFINITION

Because the term "women in development" means various things to various people, it is necessary to clarify this concept in terms of Peace Corps interpretation. On the one hand, the phrase "women in development" and its acronym "WID", now part of the development vocabulary, at least surfaces the issue of women's participation in the development process. On the other hand, it shares with other catch phrases the problem of being ill-defined. In addition, people often interpret it in the light of their own basic assumptions about women's roles, which tend to be emotionally laden.

The emphases in WID must be placed on "in development". It is not necessarily true that women will advance as their countries advance. The roles of women--and men--must be considered, and programs designed to take into account the problems and potentials of women within a particular culture. If WID is placed within its proper context, it becomes clear that this is not another form of cultural imperialism from the West or a frivolous concern. A WID project, as defined by Peace Corps, is characterized by the following:

-Women are involved in problem identification and need prioritization;

-Women participate in key roles in planning and conducting the project;

-Women are trained to assume important, permanent roles;

-Women benefit directly through augmentation of income earning ability or increase in productivity.

PEACE CORPS RECORD

Although there has been no evaluation to determine impact of Peace Corps projects on women in development countries, the 1978 Volunteer Activity Survey results show that:

> "Peace Corps programs reach MEN more than WOMEN. There is a pattern of general under-representation of WOMEN as recipients of Volunteer programs. Host country WOMEN constitute a minority for each of the three categories of recipients: students or trainees, direct recipient of services such as patients or farmers, coworkers, or counterparts PCVs train. WOMEN are particularly under-represented in those programs most likely to involve the transfer of marketable skills and resources. The programs in which WOMEN are most represented as recipients--health, nutrition, community services--are unlikely to shift the balance of economic power toward WOMEN, whatever their other justifications may be. Overall, this study lends support to the

> conclusion that aid programs, including Peace Corps, may not effectively improve the economic position of Third World WOMEN in relation to MEN."

A vigorous systematic effort is required, then, to assure that Peace Corps takes specific actions necessary to address the role of women in the development process to compensate for current inequities in Peace Corps programming. To this end, the Peace Corps Director in August 1979 directed field and headquarters staff to incorporate a conscious concern for women in all programming from concept and design, through review, implementation and final evaluation.

BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Peace Corps planning and programming in the area of women in development will be governed by the following basic assumptions:

1. WID programming does not differ fundamentally from sound development programming in general. A major Peace Corps objective is to strengthen staff programming capability.

2. Third World women are the authorities about their problems and needs. Women's organizations are functioning in many developing countries at national, regional, and local levels; often they already have projects underway. Peace Corps must identify these groups and find ways of enlisting their participation in planning and implementing projects.

3. Capacity building is crucial to assuring continuation of activity sparked by projects. Peace Corps must train women as counterparts so that they are prepared to perform in those roles.

4. Capacity building within the Peace Corps is essential as well. The WID concern must be integrated into training provided PC/Washington personnel as well as field staff and Volunteers.

5. Other agencies, including Private Voluntary Organizations, which have experience in working with women in developing countries, can offer valuable guidance. Peace Corps must resist reinventing the wheel, and instead take advantage of lessons learned from prior successes and failures of others.

6. Many development assistance organizations--especially AID and the UN agencies--have similar WID mandates. Recognizing the beneficial effect of collaboration in terms of complementarity of goals and optimal utilization of resources, the Peace Corps must strive for cooperative efforts which enhance the contribution each might make singly.

7. Circumstances and conditions vary from country to country and within country. Implementation of Peace Corps' WID policy must be sufficiently flexible to adapt to local situations, identifying with host governments opportunities for constructive change, taking both a long- and short-term view.

8. It is impossible to focus on WID without also understanding "men in development". Both men and women have roles to play and it is critical to consider the society holistically, even when focusing on a particular subgroup in the population. Peace Corps must consult and inform the affected men (e.g. husbands, village chiefs, government workers) if projects designed to assist women are to receive support and be successful.

9. Women in development as a phrase and WID as an acronym communicate different ideas to different people. Peace Corps personnel, in working with host government officials, should articulate programming priorities in terms of the function to be improved as a result of project focus. For example, if women are responsible for food crops, one can speak of introducing better techniques for production of vegetables, marketing of palm oil, preservation of corn.

STRATEGY/PRIORITIES

Building on the basic assumptions outlined above, Peace Corps is adopting a three-pronged approach for assisting women to become equal partners in the development process. The status quo is the starting point, Peace Corps staff in each country evaluating ongoing and anticipated projects to determine impact on women. Then, theoretically, each Peace Corps country could be engaged in all three kinds of programs simultaneously. The three basic program approaches are:

- Those that are focused specifically on the needs of women, aimed at closing the gap between men and women where it exists in access to opportunities or developing capabilities;

-Those that are more generally focused, but that have a component concentrating on needs of women (such as marketing cooperatives for food crops--women's domain--as well as cash crops);

-Those that do not focus on needs specific to women, but that address women and men equally, thereby enhancing women's position as well as men's.

Peace Corps is directing its attention to poor rural women and their daughters and their role in the development process within the context of family, community, culture, and country. Priority is accorded to activities in which women can increase their earning opportunities, thereby augmenting family income. The major area of concentration is food production, processing, storage, marketing and preparation. Introduction and use of appropriate technology and energy-saving practices and devices in this connection is a major objective.

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NFE Information Center

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The NFE Exchange

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

This edition of the NFE Exchange presents an overview of what some aspects of development have meant to women and the varying perceptions of what is needed to assist women and why. Because so much has been written on this topic, the introductory article focuses on those issues and features of planning which appear to be shared by programs on all continents and in all sectors. The resources listed in this edition also reflect this broad-scale orientation. Forthcoming issues will pay special attention to the role of women in development within the context of specific topics covered by the Exchange.

The material for this discussion has been developed from documents in the NFE collection and from a number of spirited exchanges with the Center research staff and others concerned with the impact of development on women and vice versa. We welcome your comments on the points raised in the following article.

Less than a decade ago, agricultural development specialists working in the Philippines invited farmers to a conference on cash incomes for rural families. The discussion focused on improving egg, chicken, and pig production as well as on designing better marketing strategies. Strangely, the participants were not particularly informed on the subject, nor were they interested. The organizers wondered why until one of the men finally explained: producing and marketing chickens, eggs, and pigs was traditionally the work of Filipino women. Women who attended a later conference on the same subject enthusiastically participated in the discussion.

About the same time, a functional literacy program in Upper Volta sought to improve the social and economic status of women by introducing labor-saving technology and offering literacy training. As the program continued, some planners began to question the advisability of designing programs in which the majority of innovators were women. One evaluator suggested that the logical extension of developing such programs would be to create a situation which the culture could not accept. The vision of literate wives, for example, reading agricultural extension manuals and telling illiterate husbands which crops to plant was culturally absurd. The issue for women's development at that time in that region, the evaluator maintained, was to develop programs that would enhance women's self confidence and help both men and women learn new skills so that together they could free themselves from poverty.

These anecdotes illustrate two classic dilemmas related to women in development. In one case, the important role women play was not understood and was therefore ignored. In the other, despite the extensive planning and research which preceded the project, special training for women was thought to be of doubtful use unless the social environment in which that training would eventually be used was also made receptive. Change introduced in half of the community would have a limited, even distorted impact if the other half were not prepared to accept or respond to it.

Although some specialists have recognized these problems for a long time, it is only within the last decade that the issue of women in development has attracted widespread attention. In 1975, International Women's Year and the Mexico City conference served as catalysts for reexamining the role of women in development and the impact of development on women. Integration of women in develop-

(continued on next page)

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ment became a theme as international and governmental agencies sought to develop programs that would reach the forgotten majority.

During the past three years the amount of literature for and about women has increased dramatically as has the number of planned projects which have a women's component. Yet if planners and practitioners have become more aware of the many contributions women make to their societies, they have also learned that designing programs to "integrate women in development" is a tremendously complex task.

DEALING WITH INTEGRATION

For one thing, integration has meant different things to different people. Some have taken this to mean that every development project must have a component directed specifically towards women. Others have maintained that a thorough understanding of a project's impact on women must be integrated into all phases of project planning even if there is no specific women's component. And, they suggest, women's participation in project development may be crucial to accomplishing this goal.

Nor is there consensus among women themselves about the need for integration or about the ways in which it might be accomplished. While many women are enthusiastic about the new opportunities available to women, those who accept their culture's interpretation of women's role see no need for change. Others, fulfilled (some might say exhausted) by their many opportunities to manage food production and household tasks, question whether the new emphasis on changing roles might only mean additional burdens. And for those whose culture already grants them special status, or who have experienced the unity of fighting beside their men in wars for independence, the call to integrate women in development may even seem irrelevant.

Differing perceptions of how the issues should be interpreted have also influenced development programs. Some theorists, for example, view women's situation as a dependent relationship stemming directly from the rigors of the world economic order and its inequities. Others contend that it is largely a question of unequal status between the sexes. Because of socially ascribed roles, women have had fewer opportunities to improve their position.

Another group, more anthropological in outlook, tends to view this phenomenon entirely in cultural terms, seeing a profound dualism between men and women as the key factor for analysis. They suggest that men and women are different types whose needs and powers at once antagonize and complement each other.

Still others advocate programs for women to meet basic human needs. They are primarily concerned, for example, that two-thirds of the world's are women, or that women typically eat last and least yet theirs are the bodies expected to nourish new life.

Some theorists call for women's programs as a means to enhance women's participation in strategic decisions which will affect their lives. Others argue that every person should have opportunities for self-realization, i.e., the development of personal talents and abilities. And some have proposed women's programs as a means to enhance world peace.

Still another group finds the exclusive preoccupation with women's programs inappropriate. Citing a variety of socio-economic reasons, they maintain that the emphasis should be on programs to strengthen family household units. According to this perspective, women will automatically receive attention in these programs because of their important function within the family.

In a sense, all of these perspectives are different translations of the issues. Like different languages, they tend to have their own vocabularies and grammars for discussing similar concerns.

However, these perspectives change and often overlap. Moreover, they are frequently influenced by broader associations with class or political movements. The point here is that there is no general agreement as to what the problems are or why they exist. But, because the perception of the problem influences the strategies that are adopted as solutions, it is important for planners and practitioners to be aware of the different interpretations concerning women in development.

TRANSLATING ISSUES INTO STRATEGIES

Though development workers differ greatly in their conceptual orientation to problems concerning women and development, all recognize that countries can no longer afford to ignore the role women play in society or their potential contribution to national development. As many as 30 percent of all families around the world are now headed by women. Such families, moreover, are likely to have the lowest incomes in their societies. Women produce over 40 percent of the world's food supply and in some places as much as 80 percent. Larger proportions of women than ever before are seeking wage employment because of financial necessity yet most continue to be placed in the lowest paying positions. The education of women is associated with the possibility of earning higher incomes, more effective population control, and improving basic living conditions.

And, as researchers and women themselves have begun to discover, planned development programs have not been uniformly meaningful nor beneficial to women. Although many who are concerned about the negative features of development acknowledge that these costs are often borne by men as well as by women, they maintain that women's options for dealing with change have been fewer, particularly if [illegible] for dependent [illegible]. Despite the [illegible]ly programs, cultural perceptions of women [illegible] in society have generally limited educational and job opportunities for women.

PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS

Planning programs which take women's needs and real roles into account is not an easy job. Because of the differing perspectives mentioned previously there is no consensus as to what women's needs are nor as to how these needs should be met.

Research needs. The problem is further complicated by a lack of information about women's roles. Until recently, research on women generally focused on household and childrearing duties, while economic and labor surveys often looked only at wage employment thus excluding much of "women's work" from economic indicators. Even though there is now an increasing sensitivity to looking at all aspects of the lives of women, information is often not available to planners at the time that they need it.

Nor is there much information as to which NFE approaches work best and under which circumstan- Unfortunately, many more reports have been written on the need for women's programs than have evaluations of specific approaches. Where information is available, it is fragmentary. Regional and cultural differences also make it difficult to compare one approach with another in terms of effectiveness and efficiency.

Despite the variety of perspectives and approaches, it is possible to identify some key planning considerations in designing programs for women and some of the issues which affect the way in which these problem areas are approached.

Types of programs. Two trends are evident as planners re-examine the content of NFE programs for women. First, there is much more awareness about the need to offer training in agricultural and other production skills which may also generate income, as well as to provide health, family planning and nutrition information. Secondly, planners are increasingly recognizing the desirability of including management and decision-making components within all types of programs. Some nutrition projects, for example, not only teach women about the nutritional value of foods but also help them to decide which foods to purchase or vegetables to plant on a cost-plus-nutrition-plus-labor basis. Similarly, agricultural projects designed to help women farmers improve their cash incomes have increased their impact by introducing participants to such topics as managing cash flow and securing credit. Whereas handicrafts projects previously taught women production skills but left administrative affairs to men, many now train women in leadership, management and accounting skills.

NFE approaches. Recognizing that in most countries the real obstacles to women participating in social and economic development are cultural attitudes, some planners and practitioners have emphasized developing learner-centered approaches that will help women develop the self-confidence and decision-making abilities necessary to reexamine their own role in society. Case studies of local relevance are often used as women participate in group discussions with practitioners serving as facilitators rather than as lecturers.

Some planners suggest that emphasizing learner-centered approaches may be important for several other reasons. By involving women in designing one aspect of their learning, learner-centered approaches may help them to initiate learning in other more non-traditional areas. Also, because women seek training for any number of reasons (e.g. to earn more income, to help their families, or to meet socially with other people), designing learner-centered programs may be the only practical, even expedient approach to accommodate a variety of expectations and needs.

Finally, learner-centered approaches may be one of the best ways to involve participants in the initial stages of development planning. Ironically, it seems that despite the increasing awareness of the need to include women in development programs, the planning and administrative constraints of development agencies often prevent those whose lives are most directly influenced by development efforts from participating in decisions concerning the types of programs to be offered. In women's ac in other NFE programs, planners and practitioners are seeking ways to involve women at the grass-roots level in designing programs that will have a direct impact on their lives.

Accessibility. Although planned for the entire community, some projects have been organized around the schedules and meeting sites of men. Thus, though there may be nothing which officially prevents women from participating in these programs, cultural traditions or work and family responsibilities have often served to exclude them. At least one project has used audio-cassettes to teach women about health and nutrition as they gathered at communal laundering sites. Another project found that bringing day care and high school equivalency programs to the factory helped many women to meet three needs at once: the need to earn income, to take care of children, and to better their education.

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Women as role models. A key factor in helping women to learn about different economic and social possibilities may be the influence of other women who, by working in alternative occupations or by serving in leadership positions, can serve as role models. However, cultural factors often prevent women from serving in this capacity by limiting the types of training available to women and the areas in which they can work. Often it is not culturally acceptable for women to work alone in rural or urban areas or to serve as leaders of organizations composed of both men and women. Even if women are allowed to work in these capacities, their advice may not be accepted either because of their youth or their sex. And, when training programs in non-traditional occupations are available for women fieldworkers, many young women prefer to serve in areas such as family planning or health which are more traditionally acceptable occupations for women. Like their counterparts who work in international development agencies, women fieldworkers must also reconcile personal and family commitments with occupations that may require a great deal of geographic mobility.

Women and the value of work. Some women feel that the emphasis on integrating women into all aspects of development implies that the work women have traditionally done, especially in the home and service sector, has little economic or social value.

NFE planners need to make special efforts to ensure that projects do not reflect negatively on work done honorably and under conditions of mutual respect. This is particularly important for women who feel that they are making just and satisfying contributions to their families and communities by working as homemakers or by serving in occupations such as nursing which have traditionally attracted women.

At the same time, planners need to look for ways to upgrade skills and benefits for those who work in domestic and other forms of personal service. Such programs may help not only to develop an important resource but also help to allay concerns expressed in some quarters that some women have been able to be socially and economically mobile only because a reservoir of cheap labor, frequently female, has been available to do traditional chores for them. In some countries, more people are employed in these areas than in any other occupation with the exception of agriculture yet few documents even mention the existence of this sector, much less programs designed to meet its needs.

PERSISTANT DILEMMAS

While few would disagree that planners need to develop programs which meet the needs of participants and foster the development of decision-making skills, there are many opinions as to the way in which programs should accomplish these goals. Three of the major issues are highlighted below.

Equity and segregation. A classic goal of development planners has been to create a climate in which the benefits and opportunities arising from development projects can be shared more equally among the population. Some critics ask whether the emphasis on designing women's programs fosters a new segregation destined to keep women apart and unequal from the rest of their societies. They suggest that the only times separate approaches are warranted are when existing cultural patterns make them the best way to organize and promote programs for women.

Researchers have found, for example, that women's groups can be effective agents for development. Such groups not only teach women new skills but also serve as forums for helping women to reach decisions and reinforce new patterns of behavior. These groups, however, seem to be most successful when their activities are of immediate practical value to their members and when their organizational structure complements cultural patterns of communal collaboration.

Many planners believe that programs designed to improve women's social and economic status are destined to fail unless they also work to help men accept new roles for women and to share some of the tasks which are usually thought of as women's work. Some maintain that this can best be achieved by offering programs designed to reach the entire family while others suggest that men's attitudes will change as they learn to work alongside women. Another approach is to incorporate discussions of attitudes towards women in existing men's programs.

This debate also extends to the type of personnel employed in development programs for women. While there is general agreement that women need to be more extensively involved in developing programs at all levels, there is no consensus as to the extent of that involvement. Suggesting that only women can understand women's problems, a few planners maintain that women should be primarily responsible for every aspect of development programs involving women. Others, while recognizing the need for women's participation in development, suggest that such an extreme attitude may only create a new pattern of discrimination and isolation between the sexes.

Furthermore, many believe that it is a mistake to assume that all women are necessarily sensitive to the plight of other women. Because women, like all individuals, represent a variety of aspirations and degrees of sensitivity to those who are more disadvantaged than they, these planners believe that programs should select and train both men and women who are sensitive to the women's needs and to the cultural impact of development programs.

Traditional vs. non-traditional roles. Another area of concern is whether NFE programs should provide training in roles for women which are not traditionally part of the culture in which they are being offered.

Despite the increasing awareness of the need to offer a variety of programs, NFE programs for women are still dominated by training courses in handicrafts and homemaking skills.

It is difficult to tell whether this emphasis is the choice of planners or participants or both. Some analysts suggest that in most countries the real obstacles to women participating in development are cultural attitudes. They note that by offering courses in homemaking, handicrafts and secretarial skills, NFE planners may only impose their own culture's notion of women's role in society.

Yet even when programs are offered in nontraditional occupations, many women either choose to or are allowed to participate only in those programs which reinforce their traditional position within society. For example, while husbands are willing to allow their wives to participate in family-oriented programs or in programs which are clearly linked with skills traditionally practiced by women, programs often encounter resistance when they offer other types of skills training. Literacy training for women may be considered unnecessary and, in countries where employment rates are high, few men are likely to welcome additional competition from women.

Because of these factors, some planners believe that programs should offer courses only in roles which are traditionally accepted as part of the culture. Others, while sensitive to the need to meet participants' expectations, maintain that programs should offer a variety of options for women. They believe that though offering traditional courses may help women to improve their economic and social status, women will still remain relatively unequal to men unless programs are available to help women participate in all aspects of society.

Cultural integrity and human rights. Planners also need to consider the ethical and practical implications of designing programs which seek to promote social and economic equality between the sexes. Do NFE planners who design culturally appropriate programs in regions which give unequal status to women, deny women basic human rights by serving cultural needs first? On the other hand, do programs which are designed to help women achieve equal status with men undermine the integrity of cultural norms? Is it possible to design programs which take both needs into account? If so, how?

These are extremely sensitive issues. Their implications extend from the international and government planning level to the most private reaches of family households.

CONCLUSION

Many of the problems encountered in women's projects have a familiar ring. Too often women are trained in skills for which no jobs are available or they are taught to produce objects which cannot be marketed or are unprofitable. Supply and credit shortages may prevent women from implementing new agricultural practices. Programs may seem irrelevant or are offered at times and places that are inconvenient for participants. And, even where programs have succeeded in teaching women practical skills, few foster the decision-making skills or self-esteem necessary to help women cope with new problems.

Nor do the issues associated with women's programs appear to be very different. The desirability of designing programs for separate audiences, the need to reconcile planners' perceptions of needs with participants' expectations, and the implications of outside intervention in different cultures are concerns which recur throughout development literature.

All of which leads some planners to ask whether the problems encountered in integrating women in development programs are not the same as those faced by any NFE program. Thus, they suggest that the questions which need to be asked about women's programs could be rephrased to apply to any target audience:

- What assumptions about the role of women are implied in the project goals, rationale and strategy?
- What will be the short and long-term impact of this program on women and families in the culture?
- What criteria will be used to evaluate the project's effect on women's lives?
- If the impact may be adverse, what compensating efforts are planned?
- Are women involved in planning and implementing the project? How will women's participation be measured?

Yet if the questions are similar to those which should be asked about the impact of any NFE program, the many cultural and philosophical perceptions concerning what women's role ought to be and the different roles played by women today make the task of designing programs for women an especially challenging one. Perhaps the extent of that challenge — to reach those whose lives are closely interwoven with all aspects of society but whose economic and social opportunities may differ substantially — can only be understood if one recognizes that the issues related to women in development directly or indirectly influence all members of the population.

Susanne R. Morris

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Project Highlights

- A unique regional program for women provides training and research services for the countries of Africa. Supported by the Economic Commission for Africa and other international assistance agencies, the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) in Ethiopia organizes workshops for grass-roots and national level workers, coordinates a volunteer women's task force, operates a village technology program and conducts research on the role of women in development in Africa.

Between 1972-1977 ATRCW, which began in 1972 as the ECA's Women's Programme, conducted a series of three-day seminars to help strengthen national efforts to assure that the role of women would be considered in planning development projects. ATRCW advisors have also helped national organizations prepare project proposals related to women in development.

Through its Itinerant Training Workshop Programme, ATRCW has conducted more than 21 in-country workshops designed to help teachers, extension workers, program directors and government employees learn how to conduct village surveys and develop training materials for women. Both men and women attend the workshops which focus on problem solving and program planning. The specific content for each workshop varies according to the requests of a particular country but workshops generally include training in leadership and communication skills in addition to offering information on technical subjects such as health, agriculture, and nutrition.

In 1975 ATRCW created the Women's Volunteer Task Force to foster an exchange of skills between African countries. The Task Force arranges for women with technical skills to serve in low income areas in their own or other African countries. During that same year, ATRCW began a Village Technology Programme. Designed to help women by introducing labor-saving devices and income-generating equipment into rural areas, the program seeks to identify and improve traditional technologies and to introduce newer, more appropriate technologies as needed.

ATRCW also supports and disseminates research related to the role of women in Africa. Publications include *ATRCW Update*, bibliographies, workshop reports and manuals for rural trainers. (Source: ATRCW, 1977. Project Address: African Training and Research Centre for Women, UN Economic Commission for Africa, P. O. Box 3001, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.)

- The reorganization of the Chebilat Women's Group in Kenya demonstrates the effect which locally-produced materials and popular participation in training and decision-making can have in developing self-reliant and efficient cooperatives. Tho initially organized as a cooperative in which all members were supposed to participate, the small, locally-initiated handicra group soon encountered problems in managing its activities. Membership at meetings declined and decision-making became increasingly top-down in nature. Most of the finances were handled by one person with little training in organizational or accounting skills and apathy and distrust among members grew as the group failed to realize a profit.

Using their own funds, two specialists in small media worked with the cooperative to develop a training and communications program that would suit the needs of participants. Individually and in small groups, the women tape-recorded their feelings about the cooperative and its problems. From these recordings and the group discussions they generated, the women developed guidelines for management and decision-making within the cooperative. Three women received special training in management and accounting skills. Games and taped exercises in the local language helped other members develop numeracy skills. In this way each member would be able to read her credit sheet and assume more responsibility for overseeing the management of the group.

All of these activities helped to lessen suspicion among members and increased confidence in the cooperative. The women contributed funds and labor to build an office and establish a loan program for members. Yet not all of the cooperative's problems were caused by poor management. Because of an unreliable market and inadequate supplies of materials for handicrafts, the women decided to expand their activities to include cultivating cash crops on rented land.

A follow-up study of the program has shown that although steady markets for handicrafts still pose a problem, the communal farming activities have provided a steady source of income. Thus, with minimal outside assistance, the cooperative has developed into a well-managed self-reliant group able to identify its problems and to implement projects to solve them. (Source: Lundeen and Lundeen, 1977.)

- The Integrated Farming Pilot Project (IFPP) in Pelotshetlha, Botswana works with rural women as part of an experimental program to introduce new dryland farming and livestock management techniques in an area that is faced with problems of poor soil fertility and seasonal labor, water, and draft power shortages. As part of its integrated approach to agricultural development, the project also seeks to identify credit and marketing facilities and to provide the extension and communication services necessary to implement the new technology. Participating farmers are represented on a Farmer's Committee.

Though the project originally reached only male farmers, in 1976 the Farmer's Committee recognized the need to includ women for they are involved in various aspects of farming in Botswana and they head many households in the Pelotshetlha are More than 100 women attended the project's next general meeting where it was decided to organize local women's groups on sub-area basis and to offer a series of training courses. The courses, which last for approximately one week, cover such topics as

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knitting, cooking, vegetable gardening and poultry keeping. Two representatives from each group attend the training sessions and are responsible for sharing their knowledge with other group members.

In order to more fully involve women in the project, two women were later elected to serve on the Farmer's Committee. Each representative meets regularly with group leaders to report on project developments and to identify ideas which need to be brought to the attention of the Committee.

Agriculture extension agents help organize field days to demonstrate new techniques and they meet with individual women to encourage them to become part of the dryland farming scheme. By including women as part of its extension efforts, IFPP has helped to assure that all households in the area have access to the new technology. Also, the economic position of women has not been threatened by limiting training in mechanization and new technologies to male farmers. (Source: Botswana, n.d.)

●Even though cultural traditions make women a hard-to-reach target audience in many areas of Bangladesh, a group of local women successfully operates a family planning project in Dacca. Concerned Women for Family Planning (CWFP), with financial support from Family Planning International Assistance, has reached over 6,000 family planning acceptors, 85 percent of whom continue to use family planning.

The key to the program's success is its door-to-door delivery of information and services by local women. Rural and particularly urban women in Bangladesh seldom leave home because of family and household constraints. At least half of the women observe *purdah* or life behind the veil, and when the wife is sick it is often the husband who sees the doctor, describes her symptoms and buys the prescribed medication. Realizing that these circumstances make family planning clinics inaccessible to many intended clients, CWFP developed an outreach program based on home visits by teams of women paraprofessionals.

Each team covers a district of approximately 50,000 people. CWFP hopes to encourage all women interested in family planning to start a distribution program around their homes, and to become actively involved in working in family planning centers. CWFP teams advise women on available family planning facilities, accompany them to a family planning clinic, and maintain home-based supply depots of oral contraceptives. They visit acceptors regularly to answer questions and assist those who might have problems with particular methods.

Teams usually include an urban organizer, two field assistants, and two trainees. Team members receive a minimal salary and must be married, practice family planning, and be able to relate to other women. New members learn on the job by working with experienced personnel. All members also receive regular training from a technical committee of physicians and population experts. A field supervisor can be consulted whenever questions or problems develop.

In less than a year, CWFP expanded its services from one to eight districts. By 1978, it planned to extend coverage to 24 more urban districts in Dacca. In addition to its neighborhood visitation program, CWFP offers family planning assistance in cooperation with programs offered through factories, welfare associations, women's cooperatives, and government offices. (Source: Curlin, 1977.)

● Since 1972, an action-research project in India has worked with pregnant women and mothers with young children to develop a comprehensive program that would improve maternal and child health and increase the ability of rural women to learn skills that will improve their own and their family's welfare. Co-sponsored by the Government of India, the Council for Social Development and UNICEF, "NFE for Rural Women: An Experimental Project for the Development of the Young Child" was developed to test the effectiveness of various NFE approaches in overcoming problems caused by maternal and childhood diseases, malnutrition, and illiteracy.

A key feature of the project, which began in three villages and soon expanded to 30, has been its emphasis on continuous evaluation and on developing locally-relevant materials. Extensive research was conducted to develop materials based on the local language and customs. Following the initial two-year research program described below, the project revised and expanded its services in response to the results of its experience with four experimental groups.

In the first group, functional literacy classes based on pre-natal care and nutrition for newborn infants were organized for about 30 women in each village. Classes met six days a week for one-to-two hours and emphasized group discussion. Using a series of illustrated cards, participants discussed problems associated with pregnancy and childbirth and learned about government health services.

The second group met less frequently at existing Mother Child Centres. The content for these meetings focused on postnatal care and included demonstrations on health, nutrition and family planning. This group also participated in a supplementary feeding program for mothers and children and received free immunization and health care services. The third experimental group received a combination of the first two programs while a fourth group served as a control and received no special treatment.

Overall, the study found that women were more apt to complete the program if there were tangible incentives such as supplemental food and health care and if sessions were held at convenient times. The drop-out rate averaged about 50% in the literacy classes but was substantially less in the post-natal group, partially because this group received special health and nutrition services. Generally, women who left the program did so because of fatigue related to the combined pressures of working in the fields and at home; opposition by family members, especially the husband; and/or a belief that the program wasn't relevant to their lives. (Source: Koshy, 1973. Project Address: Council for Social Development, Sangha Rachana, 53 Lodi Estate, New Delhi 110 003, India.)

Women and home

The "top" social group among women in Third World societies is those who live in total seclusion, often behind the veil, never taking part in outdoor activities. In farming communities, their husbands would typically be well enough off to employ field labour. This pattern of life is typical of Indian upper castes and the Middle East.

The next ranking social group is one in which the women do domestic duties, craft work and occasional poultry raising, but never earn money. Their menfolk do their own ploughing, planting and agricultural work. This pattern of life is typical of that of most women in Latin America, and the Indian cultivator caste.

The third group is equivalent to low caste women in an Indian village. They assist their men in the fields, go to market, and at certain times of year do extra paid work. Most women in Asia live like this. In the Philippines, for example, women work 30 hours a week on the family farm, while men work 43 hours.

The fourth and lowest group consists of those women who are expected to support themselves and their families virtually independently. In Asia they regularly seek work as landless labourers, as do India's Untouchables. In Africa, where this is the typical pattern, the woman obtains the right to work a piece of land by marriage and then bears all the responsibility for food production.

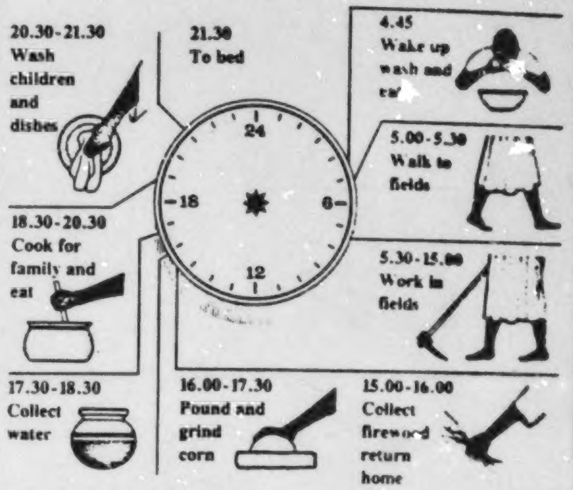
This classification of women's roles is based on research cited in ***Woman's Role in Economic Development*** *by Esther Boserup.*

Most of the information on these pages comes from: the **1979 State of the World's Women Report** *for the UN Decade for Women; the* **World's Women Data Sheet (1980),** *Population Reference Bureau in collaboration with UNICEF; and* **New Internationalist Issue No. 89 'Women Hold up Half the Sky'**

Women and work

A WOMAN'S WORK IS NEVER DONE

A day in the life of a typical rural African woman



WOMEN'S WORK IS NOT RECOGNIZED

National statistics for the economically active usually omit women's work in the subsistence sector yet:

In Bangladesh, 90% of the female population is engaged in agriculture

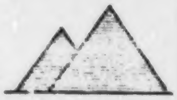
In Africa 60-80% of all agricultural work is done by women

Rural women in the developing countries as a whole account for at least 50% of food production

WHO PROVIDES FOR THE FAMILY?

In 1972 it was estimated that:

IN EGYPT
264,000 families lived on the earnings of women



IN KENYA
525,000 rural households were headed by women

IN BOTSWANA
one-third of all households were headed by women

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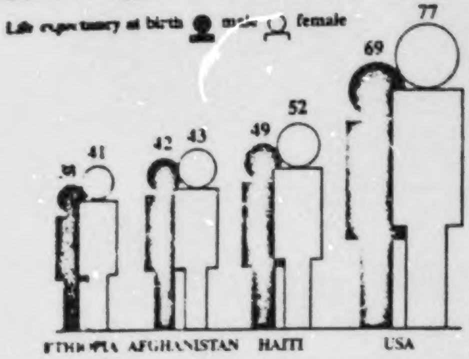
LIFE EXPECTANCY

Women's natural lifespan is longer than men's. In the industrialized world where nutrition and public health standards are high and medical care available, the longevity gap between men and women can be as much as 10 years (USSR). In the developing countries, where women suffer more than men from a heavy workload and social service deficiencies, the gap is narrower and sometimes reversed.



WATER

Women are the universal water carriers, spending between one and four hours a day in its collection, and usually transporting it in heavy pots or buckets on their heads or backs. The distance from their home to a source of clean water is crucial to the standard of health and hygiene in their families. The International Drinking Water Supply and Sanitation Decade's goal is the provision of safe drinking water and sanitation to all by the year 1990—a formidable task.

[illegible]% of urban Third World dwellers are supplied with in-house or courtyard clean water.

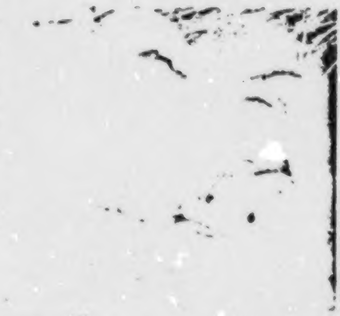
Less than 10% rural Third World people have easy access to a safe water supply.

MATERNAL MORTALITY

Raising health standards for women in the Third World requires easy access to maternal and child care services, including ante- and post-natal care, maternity care and family planning.

Deaths per 100,000 live births from deliveries, complications in pregnancy, childbirth and the puerperium

[illegible]	108.9
Costa Rica	59.9
Philippines	137.8
[illegible]	114.4
Sri Lanka	179.3
[illegible]	187.3
Netherlands	13.4
[illegible]	90.9



ICEF 7330/Wolff

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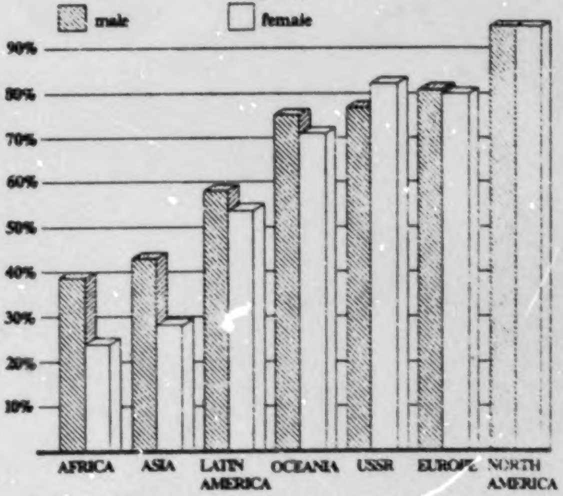
SCHOOLING

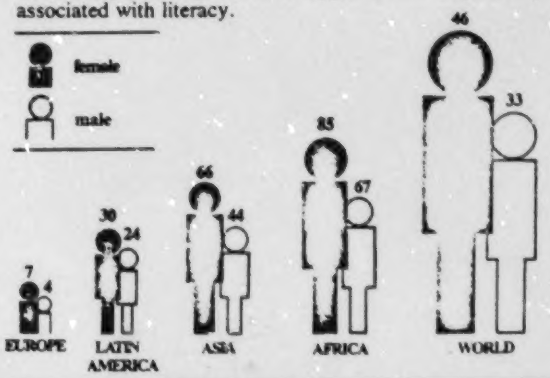
Percentage of males/females aged 12-17 enrolled in school (1975)



In several African and Asian countries the picture is worse than the statistics imply because of a huge female drop-out once compulsory years are completed due to the lack of change in parental expectations for girls.

ILLITERACY

Nearly two out of every three illiterate people in the world are women. Resistance by Third World women to other opportunities of raising their quality of life—better nutrition, family planning, domestic hygiene—are very closely associated with literacy.



SCHOOL SUBJECTS

Many schools still have 'girls' subjects' and 'boys' subjects In most countries:

boys do woodwork and metalwork

. . . girls do home science and needlework

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UNITED NATIONS
CENTRE FOR
SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT
AND HUMANITARIAN
AFFAIRS

Topic chart submitted for use with articles on the 1979 'State of the World's Women' Report, or with the Feature 'Programmed for Inequality'.

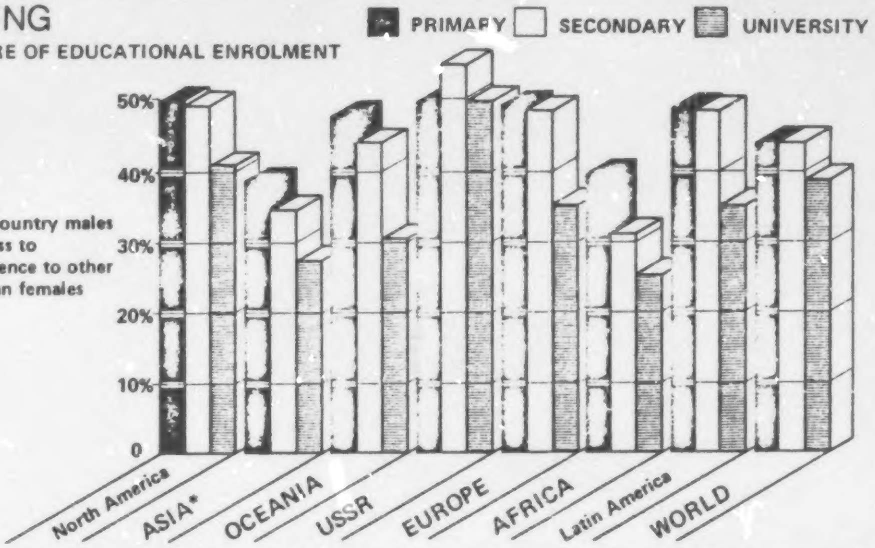
Programmed for inequality

'Many parents are disappointed when they produce a girl child. However, they quickly begin the process of preparing her for her role in life as one who must always take second place to men - first to her brothers and father, later to her husband. They will be aided in this task by others outside the family - by educators, for example, and by the media of mass communication.'

1979 'State of the World's Women' Report for the United Nations Decade for Women.

SCHOOLING

WOMEN'S SHARE OF EDUCATIONAL ENROLMENT



In almost every country males have greater access to education and thence to other opportunities than females

*Excluding
CHINA
N KOREA
N VIETNAM

SCHOOL SUBJECTS

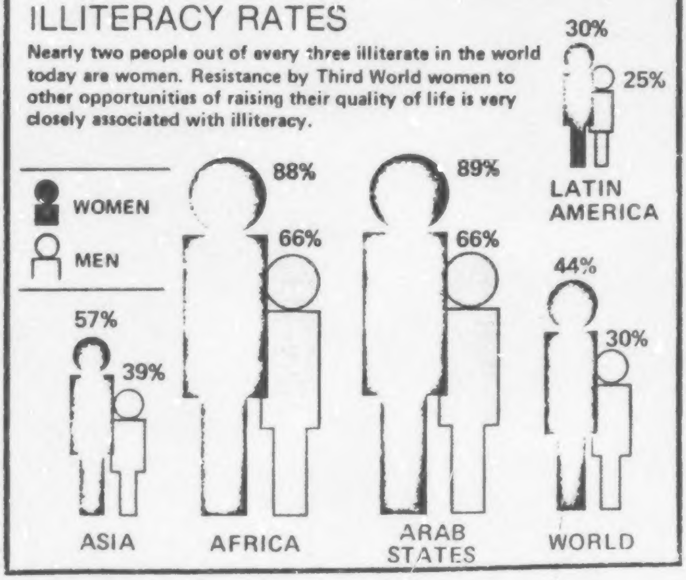
Many schools still have 'girls' subjects' and 'boys' subjects'
In most countries :

boys do woodwork and metalwork

.... girls do home science and needlework

ILLITERACY RATES

Nearly two people out of every three illiterate in the world today are women. Resistance by Third World women to other opportunities of raising their quality of life is very closely associated with illiteracy.



Peter Sullivan SUNDAY TIMES (London)

II. Fairy Tales and Facts: Economy, Family, Fertility, and the Female

Module II-27

From: Women and World Development,
by Irene Tinker & Michele Bo Bramsen, ed.,
Overseas Development Council, USA, 1976

Rae Lesser Blumberg

The integration of women into their nations' processes of economic development was one of the three major, long-term goals of International Women's Year. Although working toward this goal clearly requires some detailed knowledge about the relationship of women to both production and reproduction in different types of societies, there seem to be more fairy tales than facts floating about on this topic. Using the "dart" of social science research data, this paper will identify and attempt to puncture six myths: 1) women are economic parasites; 2) economic development always improves women's lives; 3) the poor—especially the urban poor—are trapped in poverty by their "disorganized," female-centered family patterns; 4) before the development of modern contraceptives, women were "non-stop breeding machines"; 5) fertility is basically irrational; and 6) there are no systematic links between women's economic position, their status, and their fertility.

Myth 1. *For most of human history, women have been economic parasites, who have contributed little to their families' subsistence.* As Charlotte Perkins Gilman put it in 1894: "The female of genus *homo* is economically dependent on the male. He is her food supply."[1] This view, even though it is wrong, has been very prevalent in twentieth century social science theory. As recently as 1955, the influential U.S. sociologist Talcott Parsons wrote that the husband is the main provider, "whereas the wife is primarily the giver of love."[2]

How much more than love do women contribute? One estimate is that, on a worldwide basis, women contribute 44 per cent of the food supply.[3] Clearly women are not parasites. Nevertheless, the range of variation of women's work is quite great. In about 2 per cent of the 1,170 societies represented in Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas*, women contributed virtually nothing to the food supply; in another 2 per cent, women contributed two thirds or more.[4] Since women's economically productive work seems to be the first precondition to power and equality (as will be argued below), it is important to understand under which conditions and in which types of societies women are important providers.

Two main factors seem to determine women's participation in the labor force: a) the extent to which the economic activity is compatible with women's simultaneous child-care responsibilities, especially breast feeding; and b) the state of the male labor force supply versus the total demand for labor. Some types of activities are very compatible with child-rearing obligations, and women often are an important labor force in these activities—if the surplus of male labor is not so large that men may squeeze women out of the work. Two examples from simple societies are gathering and hoe horticulture, and in both we find a predominantly female labor force. In fact, in Africa, where hoe horticulture is still the main cultivation method, the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa has just ascertained that 70 per cent of agricultural production is in the hands of women.[5] Handicrafts and cottage-industry activities that can be carried out in the home, and poultry that can be raised in the yard—these, too, are activities in which women are often the main labor force. On the other hand, the activities of plough agriculture—the subsistence base of a majority of the world's population even today—tend to be less easily combined with simultaneous infant care. The work may be located farther from the home, making it inconvenient to bring children along or return to nurse them. And plough agriculture is relatively less labor-intensive than hoe horticulture, so that agrarian societies based on plough cultivation tend to have large surplus labor populations of underemployed and unemployed males.[6] It is not surprising, then, to find that in agrarian societies based on non-irrigated plough cultivation, women play a very negligible economic role. Ironically, all of today's industrialized societies, both capitalist and socialist, emerged from precisely this sort of agrarian base. (Little wonder, then, that the industrialized world's social scientists, with their ethnocentric perspective, should view women as economic parasites!)

But these points raise an interesting question: Since industrial production and most "modern-sector" jobs take place away from home, hearth, and children, why is it that women are a large and growing proportion of the labor force in all industrial societies? The answer seems to be mainly economic expansion, coupled, in the case of nations like Japan, West Germany, and the Eastern European socialist countries, with the after-effects of high male death rates in World War II. Also, generally speaking, the rate of female labor force participation is higher in the socialist countries. In the Soviet Union, for example, women account for half the labor force; and in the major years of child rearing—twenty to thirty-nine—fully 80 per cent of women work.[7] In the United States, although only 20 per cent

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[1] Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin, eds., *Liberation Now!* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1971), p. 139.

[2] Talcott Parsons and R. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process* (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955), p. 151.

[3] Joel Aronoff and William D. Crano, "A Re-examination of the Cross-Cultural Principles of Task Segregation and Sex-Role Differentiation in the Family," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 40 (1975). Their research is based on the work of George Peter Murdock, *World Ethnographic Atlas* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1967).

[4] Murdock, *World Ethnographic Atlas*, op. cit.

[5] U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, "The Data Base for Discussion of the Interrelations between the Integration of Women in Development, Their Situation and Population Factors in Africa," U.N. Doc. E/CN, 14/SW/17, 1974.

[6] See Gerhard E. Lenski, *Power and Privilege* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

[7] Marilyn Power Goldberg, "Women in the Soviet Economy," *Review of Radical Political Economics*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1972).

of women eighteen to sixty-four years old were in the labor force in 1900, the number had increased to 50 per cent by 1970 and has risen higher since then.[8]

In short, even though women in Third World countries encounter a dreadful scarcity of so-called "modern-sector" job opportunities, we may consider the first myth invalid.

Myth 2. *Economic development always provides an improvement in women's lives.* This is an easy myth to discredit, given the large amount of evidence that has been accumulated to show that this is *not* always the case. Ester Boserup has shown that in Africa, the introduction of cash crops grown for a world market often has been accompanied by an erosion of women's traditional rights and their position as important agricultural producers who typically controlled disposition of the crops they raised.[9] The new system was introduced by males from nations without a tradition of female farming, and they ignored and undercut the women. Even in trade, the traditional economic power and autonomy of West African women is threatened as large-scale, capitalist, export-oriented trade is introduced (by males) in competition with traditional markets. Frequently, even in societies without a prior tradition of female economic productivity and power, the new opportunities brought by economic development go to a relative handful of elite or middle-class women. At the same time, the lot of the rural majority and the increasing hordes pushed off the land into urban areas may become more miserable than ever. In most cases (the oil-producing nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries are fortunate exceptions), Third World countries are beset by declining terms of trade while becoming ever more enmeshed, on increasingly unfavorable terms, in the cash nexus world economy. As rural poverty and urban unemployment and underemployment mount, opportunities for the majority of women—the poor—cannot avoid being adversely affected.

Myth 3. *In many countries the poor—especially the urban poor—become trapped in poverty by their "disorganized," female-centered family patterns.* This is a classic case of putting the cart before the horse. Actually, the situation is the other way around. All over the world, in both urban and rural areas, there exists today a problem of surplus labor population—people who cannot find stable, year-round employment at an adequate level of subsistence. In those situations where economic uncertainty prevails but women have the possibility of achieving viable subsistence by their own labor, welfare payments, or the efforts of their children to whose earnings they have access, there is a high proportion of female heads of families. This phenomenon has been studied mostly among poor blacks in the United States and the Caribbean, but it is worldwide and not confined to blacks. In 1976, Blumberg and Garcia, using U.S. census data, showed that poor whites and blacks have *identical*—and high—proportions of female-headed families when income level and rural versus urban residence are held constant.[10]

It is poverty and the economic prospects of women that combine to make the female-headed type of family prevalent among certain economically marginal groups. Economic uncertainty tends to make marital or consensual unions unstable. If the woman cannot make a go of her own separate family unit when her partner departs, then she and her children may turn to relatives, or she may have to enter a new union—or face starvation. But this pattern of shifting family composition and high proportions of families headed by females is not necessarily family "disorganization," nor does it cause the poor to become embedded in some alleged "culture of poverty."[11]

Instead, an adaptive pattern of sharing is prevalent. Female-headed families tend to be joined with close kin (especially on the female side) in a network of give and take. Household composition may shift, with adults and children—as well as money, goods, and services—moving around the network as circumstances dictate.[12] Moreover, it has been demonstrated mathematically that sharing aids in the survival of the group by smoothing out fluctuations in its scarce, uncertain, and variable resource base.[13] It seems no coincidence that anthropologists have found sharing by group members to be *universal* among hunting and gathering societies with similarly scarce and fluctuating rerources.[14] In sum, families headed by females emerge under certain marginal economic conditions where women as well as men have independent access to subsistence. Units headed by women tend to be poorer than those headed by males;[15] so the people involved try to make the *best* of their situation, with flexible family organization and patterns of sharing.

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[8] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Marital and Family Characteristics of Workers*, Special Labor Force Reports No. 130 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p. A-10.

[9] Ester Boserup, *Women's Role in Economic Development* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970).

[10] See, for example, Richard N. Adam, "An Inquiry into the Nature of the Family," in Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro, eds., *Essays in the Science of Culture* (New York: Crowell, 1960); and Rae Lesser Blumberg with Maria Pilar Garcia, "The Political Economy of the Mother-Child Family: A Cross-Societal View," in Luis Leñero-Otero, ed., *Beyond the Nuclear Family Model: Contemporary Family Sociology in a Cross-Cultural Perspective* (London: Sage Publications, 1976). W. Penn Handwerker has shown that this type of family becomes common even among the traditionally patrilineal, patrilocal Bassa of Monrovia, Liberia, once they join the "urban underclass." "Technology and Household Configuration in Urban Africa: The Bassa of Monrovia," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 38 (1973), pp. 182-97.

[11] See Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counterproposals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[12] For a description of this sharing network among poor urban blacks in the United States, see Carol B. Stack, "The Kindred of Viola Jackson: Residence and Family Organization of an Urban Black American Family," in Norman E. Whitten, Jr., and John F. Szwed, eds., *Afro-American Anthropology: Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: The Free Press, 1970), pp. 303-12; and Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974).

[13] John R. Lombardi, "Exchange and Survival," paper presented at the American Anthropological Association Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1973.

[14] See, for example, Richard B. Lee, "What Hunters Do for a Living: Or How to Make Out on Scarce Resources," in Richard B. Lee and Irven de Vore, eds., *Man the Hunter* (Chicago: Aldine, 1968).

[15] See, for example, U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, "Facts about Women Heads of Households and Heads of Families," Washington, D.C., 1973.

However, making the best of the situation often involves having a large family. Although it has been found that the female family head has slightly lower fertility than a woman of the same social class living in a conjugal union, female family heads are *not* shown to be a low-fertility group.[16] Moreover, studies have shown that their fertility behavior follows a consistent pattern. Typically, they had their first child within several years of puberty. Whether they were in a union or not, having the child almost invariably shut the door on additional educational training or other opportunities that could lead to a good, stable job and a brighter, lower-fertility future. The men of the "urban underclass" also tend to have unstable, ill-paid work, and intermittent and disastrous periods of unemployment. Such economic uncertainty makes unions very fragile. Once a woman has borne a child at an early age, her chances of getting out of the "urban underclass" on her own are extremely low. It appears that the best strategy for a woman who has had a child very young and does not have a stable conjugal union is to have *more* children, often by several partners. Having a child may help to cement a relationship, and perhaps, if she is lucky, the new partner will find one of the rare regular jobs that permits a stable subsistence for his family. If not, her children may prove a good investment.

Children can be economically useful in many ways for "urban underclass" members. From a very early age, they can be seen helping with the family laundry route, shining shoes, running errands, and baby-sitting. The poor cannot afford to invest in clothes, medical care, school fees, or summer camps for their children, so the costs of child rearing are often overshadowed by the expected benefits—both short- and long-term. For in societies without extensive state welfare programs, where else can one turn except to one's kin and children? So the woman keeps having children (although she may well terminate a given pregnancy because she feels the circumstances are not favorable for having a child at that point).[17] By the time she is of an age that makes entering a new union difficult, she probably has children old enough to help support her.

Had this cycle been broken at the *beginning*, by providing educational and employment opportunities—as well as contraceptive information—to adolescent girls, the story might have been different. We already know from numerous fertility studies that education and stable employment outside the home delay the age of entering into a marital or consensual union, delay the age of first birth, and result in lower family size. But this lower family size springs from the woman's new self-interest as a consequence of her expanded opportunities. It cannot be brought about by even the most persuasive of family-planning posters if having fewer children is against her perceived self-interest. In spite of all this, historically, women's reproductive behavior has been seen as *compulsive* and *irrational*. Let us examine these two assumptions.

Myth 4. *Throughout human history, until the development of modern contraceptive methods, women were "non-stop breeding machines."* This is the famous Malthusian myth and is contradicted by the fact that human societies throughout history have regulated population and fertility. For example, even in today's underdeveloped countries, fertility is 40-60 percent below the upper limit established by the Hutterites (a small fundamentalist sect that averages more than ten children per family). Moreover, European fertility rates prior to industrialization also were less than 60 per cent of the Hutterite level.[18] Even more myth-shattering is the extremely low level of fertility of the world's simplest societies, the hunting-gathering bands. Since gathering provides 60-80 per cent of the diet in almost all hunting-gathering groups in non-Arctic latitudes—and since women are the main gatherers—women are the predominant producers among most such groups. Most of these societies are also more-or-less nomadic, and women's daily gathering may cover a fairly large area. Since anything that would interfere with their mobility and gathering also would decrease group food supply, it is not too astonishing to find that hunting-gathering societies have a) wide child spacing, averaging about four years between births in contemporary hunting-gathering populations; and b) low completed family size.[19]

How did they do it before the pill? Apparently by a variety of methods, including late weaning, abortion, infanticide, and plants with contraceptive properties. Interestingly enough, in other major types of pre-industrial societies in which women are the main producers—for example, among the hoe horticulturalists of sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania—there is also evidence of wide spacing and fewer births than among their less productive sisters of agrarian societies. In fact, comparison of three industrial societies of differing modes of subsistence production shows fertility to be inversely related to both women's productive labor and their social status. In contemporary developing and industrial societies, economically productive women have been shown to have greater power, including household power, and they use that power to control their fertility.[20] One example of this may be seen in the Eastern European socialist countries, where most women of childbearing age work, but labor-saving household aids and child care are at a premium. In these countries, women tend to have unilateral control over abortion. The net result is a fertility rate below replacement level (2.1 children per couple) in the cities. Many women in these countries want only one child, and they have the household power and abortion control to enforce their decision.

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[16] See Helen L. Safa, "From Shantytown to Public Housing: A Comparison of Family Structure in Two Urban Neighborhoods in Puerto Rico," *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 4 (1964), pp. 3-12; and Blumberg with Garcia, "The Political Economy," op. cit.

[17] In Latin America, enormous proportions of the pregnancies in urban areas are terminated by illegal abortions. For statistics from a number of studies, see Nora Scott Kinzer, "Priests, Machos and Babies: Or, Latin American Women and the Manichean Heresy." *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 35 (1973), pp. 300-12. Moreover, worldwide abortion is considered the most prevalent method of birth control. See the American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Culture and Population Change* (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1974).

[18] See U.N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Demographic Yearbook, 1969* (New York: United Nations, 1970); and Harvey Leibenstein, "An interpretation of the Economic Theory of Fertility: Promising Path or Blind Alley?" *Journal of Economic Literature*, Vol. 12 (1974), pp. 457-79.

[19] See John M. Whiting, "Pleistocene Family Planning," in Lee and de Vore, *Man the Hunter*, op. cit., pp. 248-49. Joseph B. Birdsell estimates that completed family size averages about 2.0 children, with a standard deviation of 1.4. "Some Predictions for the Pleistocene Based on Equilibrium Systems among Recent Hunter Gatherers," in Lee and de Vore, *Man the Hunter*, op cit.

[20] See American Association for the Advancement of Science, *Culture and Population Change*, op. cit.; Robert H. Weller, "The Employment of Wives, Dominance and Fertility," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (1968); and Robert O. Blood, Jr., and Donald M. Wolfe, *Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living* (New York: The Free Press, 1960).

People tend to regulate their fertility, but they may regulate it at high, rather than low, levels. This was found to be the case among Indian peasants studied by Mahmood Mamdani. These peasants felt that having large families was not the cause of their poverty; indeed, many children could be a solution to their poverty, since children (especially sons, because this was an agrarian area where women did not work in the fields) could help them work the land or send back remittances from city jobs.[21]

Myth 5. *Fertility is basically irrational, and people have lots of children out of ignorance or tradition.* The basis for dispelling this myth has been implied above: first in the discussion of the lower fertility of economically productive women who would be inconvenienced by more, or more closely spaced, offspring, and again in the peasants' explanation of their high family size uncovered in Mamdani's research. Let us be more specific. What seems to affect births is each partner's perception of the expected costs versus the expected benefits each partner hopes to get out of a family of given size, spacing, and sex ratio.[22] In other words, fertility behavior is basically rational. So if a peasant woman tells an interviewer she "wants all the children providence may send her," we can predict: 1) her contribution to the family food supply tends to be limited; 2) she gets status from having a large family—in many peasant societies perhaps her only source of status in a generally sexist culture,[23] and 3) she anticipates other benefits from her children, such as help in crises and old age and help around the house when they are growing up, which she does not view as likely to come from any other source (e.g., the government). Even though for the women's nation, her high fertility may be a greater burden than benefit, family planners will have a hard time convincing her (or her husband) that two children are the ideal number when she has objective grounds for knowing her welfare would be adversely affected if she had fewer than five or six children.

The same data that destroyed the previous myth also indicate that modern contraception can make fertility regulation more efficient, but that modern contraception is not enough. The determinants of fertility patterns reside in the social and economic situation of the man and woman—especially their relation to their society's mode of production. The situation of each partner is what affects his or her perceived utilities in children. And in turn, the perceived costs versus benefits of children affect the resulting fertility pattern.[24] It should be noted, however, that the partners' child utilities do not always coincide (as implied in the example of Eastern European socialist countries cited above). But the extent to which the *woman's* child utilities prevail in determining fertility outcomes seems to depend on her degree of economically derived household power.

Myth 6. *There are no systematic links between the economic position of women in a society, their status, and their fertility.* Bits and pieces of evidence contradicting this myth already have emerged in various parts of this paper. First, we already have seen that in societies where women have higher status, they have lower fertility. Also, where women are employed for wages outside the home, they have more household power and fewer children. Why is this so? Elsewhere, I have suggested a paradigm of factors affecting female status.[25] The paradigm is based on Gerhard Lenski's argument concerning factors influencing a society's inequality system. He proposes that *privilege* (as well as status) in a society is distributed largely on the basis of *power*. Power is defined as "the probability of persons or groups carrying out their will even when opposed by others." He then names three sources of power affecting a society's inequality system: 1) power of property (or more generally, economic power); 2) power of position (e.g., in a political hierarchy); and 3) power of force.[26] Translating this to the area of sexual equality, I argue that, *for women, economic power is the most important influence on their relative equality* (with the men of their class or group) with respect to some very basic privileges. These I term "life options." Life options are issues which occur in all human groups and include: 1) deciding whether and whom to marry; 2) deciding to end a marriage; 3) control over freedom of movement; 4) control over pre- and extra-marital sex; 5) control over fertility regulation to the extent biologically possible (including deciding on methods used, such as contraception, abortion, infanticide); 6) access to educational opportunities; and 7) degree of household authority. On each of these issues, women's say can range from *none*, to *equal to*, to *greater than* that of the men of their group or class.

Why should economic power be the most influential? For one thing, it has been recognized as such in a number of theories of sexual status,[27] as well as in a number of both Marxist and non-Marxist structural theories of stratification. For another, it is the only one of the three sources of power named by Lenski in which women's position has been found empirically to run the gamut from low to high. There are societies where women have virtually no control over the means and fruits of production, relative to the men of the same class or group (such as the Rwala Bedouin). There are other societies where women have the major control in these areas, leaving men with very little economic power (such as the Iroquois). But men monopolize power in the other two power arenas. There are *no* known societies where women have more than a small share in the top slots of the "power of position" hierarchies—political, religious, administrative, etc. And women fare even worse with respect to the power of force: women are almost never those who exercise it and conversely are often on the receiving end.

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[21] Mahmood Mamdani, *The Myth of Population Control: Family, Caste, and Class in an Indian Village* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972).

[22] See Rae Lesser Blumberg, "Economic Influences on Female Status and Fertility," paper presented at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, New York, 1975; Allan Schnaiberg and David Reed, "Risk, Uncertainty, and Family Formation: The Social Content of Poverty Groups," *Population Studies,* Vol. 28 (1974); and Leibenstein, "An Interpretation of Economic Theory," op. cit.

[23] Evalyn Jacobson Michaelson and Walter Goldschmidt, "Female Roles and Male Dominance Among Peasants," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 27 (1971), pp. 330-52.

[24] See, for example, Eva Mueller, "Economic Motivations for Family Limitations," *Population Studies,* Vol. 26, No. 3 (1972), pp. 383-403; and Mueller, "Economic Cost and Value of Children: Conceptualization and Measurement," paper presented at the Workshop on Assessment of the Satisfactions and Costs of Children, East-West Population Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1972.

[25] Rae Lesser Blumberg, "Structural Factors Affecting Women's Status: A Cross-Societal Paradigm," paper presented at the International Sociological Association Meeting, Toronto, Canada, 1974.

[26] Lenski, *Power and Privilege,* op cit.

[27] See, for example, Karen Sacks, "Social Bases for Sexual Equality: A Comparative View," in Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (New York: Vintage, 1970). pp.455-68.

How do women get economic power? Peggy Sanday's empirical results show that the chain starts with women's economic productivity; where women do not help to produce the food supply, their status is invariably low. On the other hand, mere work does not guarantee either power or privilege. After all, slaves work too. And Sanday found groups where women did most of the productive labor and were treated little better than slaves.[28]

Consequently, my paradigm begins by predicting the conditions under which women will participate in the main productive activities of their societies. As already noted, these are: 1) the degree of compatibility of the activity with simultaneous child-care responsibilities, particularly breast feeding; and 2) demand for labor in comparison with the available male supply.

What helps translate "mere work" into relative economic power over the means and fruits of production? The paradigm next identifies a series of factors which affect the *strategic indispensability* of both the women's activities and the women producers themselves. In b[illegible], the higher the strategic indispensability of women's activities, the greater the likelihood of women gaining some economic power from their production. Kinship systems favoring maternal kin are also hypothesized as enhancing the possibilities of female economic power.

Finally, the paradigm identifies several other variables which affect the life options, but these variables are seen as influenced by the major sources of power, especially the economic dimension. In other words, these are viewed as "intervening variables" between power and privilege. They include the prevailing ideology concerning male supremacy, and the extent to which men participate in the "female" areas of child care and domestic tasks.

Thus far, with a pilot sample of 61 societies, preliminary findings indicate that I have confirmed the hypothesized pattern of relationships.[29] Economic power of women *is* the strongest influence on the "life options" variables; the correlation is quite large (R = .67). Second in importance is the power of force. But interestingly enough, in groups where women have near-equal economic power, the power of force (measured by wife beating) tends *not* to be used against them—the data show a fairly strong inverse correlation between women's economic power and wife beating. Ideology concerning male superiority ranked a distant third in importance of the present variable set. (These relationships, incidentally, emerged not only in simple correlations but also under "multivariate analysis," where the relative strength of variables can be ascertained more exactly than with correlations between two factors.)[30] In short, the paradigm, its results to date, and the other findings (mentioned earlier in this paper) linking economic factors, female status, and fertility all seem to form a fairly coherent and systematic pattern.

What can we learn from this pattern? First, that economic opportunity for women—and the educational opportunity that underlies it—is a sound policy for any nation attempting to lower fertility rates. Other measures that increase women's rights and privileges also may be a help, although the evidence is less clear than with schooling and stable outside-the-home jobs. In those societies where population growth drains rather than enhances resources, we can speculate that every dollar spent on education for boys which is not matched by expenditures on girls' education probably will be wiped out by those girls' greater subsequent fertility. To development experts who fear implementing such a policy on the grounds that "the women would be taking jobs away from men and thus bread away from male-headed families," Ester Boserup's finding that this is *not* the case should be illuminating. On the contrary, she argues, adding women into development plans—and putting them to work—increases the size of the economic pie.[31]

In sum, educated, economically productive women not only will have fewer children but also will enhance national output and welfare (not to mention the welfare and human dignity of the women involved!). Thus it behooves planners to analyze development plans very carefully with respect to their impact on female productivity. Will new opportunities be created for women or will old ones be destroyed by a given program? Suddenly this looms as more than an abstract question of human rights or social justice, for national development is involved. Fortunately for the goals of International Women's Year, it seems that development will be furthered by precisely those measures which also increase human rights and social as well as sexual justice.

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[28] Peggy R. Sanday, "Toward a Theory of the Status of Women," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75 (1973), pp. 1682-1700.

[29] I presently have data for all paradigm variables except the "strategic indispensability" factors, women's relative access to education, and—unfortunately—regulation of fertility. These results will be treated in detail in a forthcoming paper.

[30] In preliminary computer runs, 57 per cent of the variance in a scale of "life options" was explained, and 47 per cent (over 4/5 of the explained variance) was accounted for by the index of women's relative economic power.

[31] Ester Boserup, "Employment and Education: Keys to Smaller Families," *The Victor Bostrum Fund Report*, No. 18 (Spring 1974).

Module III: Identifying Roles of Men and Women in the Community and Its Impact on Development

Total Time: Introduction Session: 30 minutes

Field Work: 2 hours to 1 day

Discussion Session: 3 hours

Objectives:

1. To practice observation and listening skills as a way of getting information related to the country, and specifically, to the different roles played b[illegible] men, women and children.
2. To identify and discuss sex role patterns and traditions as they exist in the community, especially in the following areas: family, work, education, health and sanitation, social and community life, politics and public life.
3. To differentiate between participants expectations of roles and what they actually observe in regards to men, women and children's roles in the community.
4. To identify and discuss opportunities and constraints related to role patterns and traditions which influence the participation of men and women in the development process.

Overview:

This session provides the participants with an opportunity to learn about sex roles in the host country by observing their immediate community and analyzing their observations and experiences. It helps participants practice observation skills in a different culture and country as a means of gathering information about that country. Also, this session provides an opportunity for participants to begin identifying similarities and differences between sex roles in the USA and the new country and apply these observations to understanding the difference in opportunities and barriers facing men and women in a developing country.

Procedures: **Introduction and Field Work: Part A**

Time	Activities
Lecturette 15 min	1. Trainer explains the objectives for the session and presents a short lecturette to introduce the activities for the session.

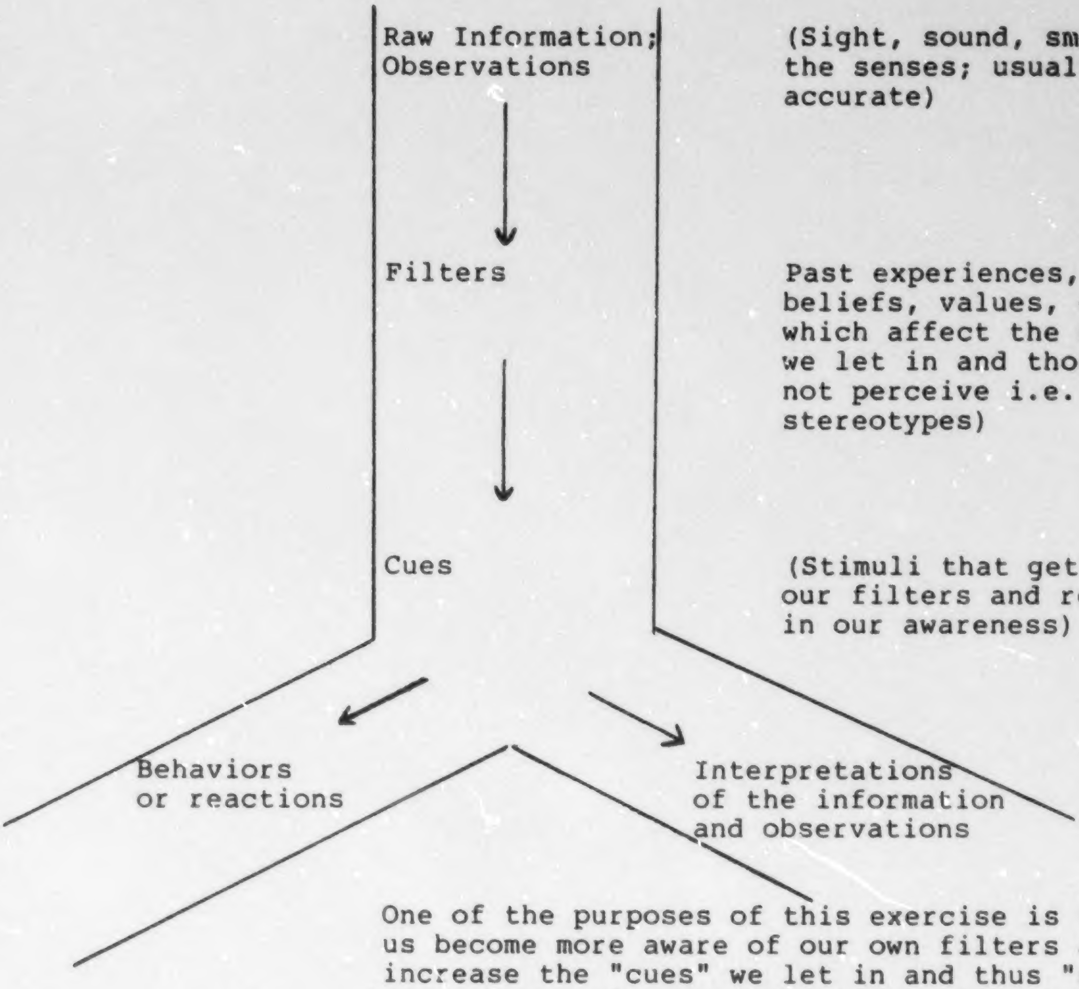
Lecturette: "Sex role patterns often go unnoticed at a conscious level in our culture. They are learned through life and become expected and desired. As social roles, they become norms that apply to men and women and play a powerful part in the development and socialization of each sex. In the USA culture, for instance, girls and women were expected to be interpersonally oriented and nurturing; boys and men were expected to be achieving and instrumental. Each role includes a set of prescriptive rules; certain kinds of performance and behaviors are expected. These internalized rules determine to a great degree adult behavior and options that men and women have or "feel" they have. For example, careers which have traditionally matched the role expectations mentioned before are: women nurses, teachers, social workers and men scientists, mechanics and business managers.

In a new culture, sex roles might be the same or very different from the roles and role divisions we have learned in our own culture. Thus, the need to identify those similarities and differences and analyze the impact they have on the life and development of the people and the country.

But because the way we behave and react to the world is very much determined by our expectations, as well as our observations of the outside world, it is necessary that we become aware of how our own expectations influence what we see or don't see regarding sex roles in the new culture.[1]

[1] "If a generalization about a group of people is believed, whenever a member of that group behaves in the expected way, the observer notes it and his belief is confirmed and strengthened. When a member of the group behaves in a way that is not consistent with the observer's expectations, the instance is likely to pass unnoticed." (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974.)

These expectations are often stereotypes which can keep us from seeing objectively. A diagram which illustrates this process is the following:



(Sight, sound, smell--the senses; usually accurate)

Past experiences, learnings, beliefs, values, expectations, which affect the sensations we let in and those we do not perceive i.e. stereotypes)

(Stimuli that get through our filters and register in our awareness)

One of the purposes of this exercise is to help us become more aware of our own filters and increase the "cues" we let in and thus "see" more accurately, specifically as it relates to roles in a new culture.

Trainer asks participants for examples of cultural incidents in which they can identify their own role expectations and filters. After some examples, (i.e. men do all the heavy work, women do only homebound tasks), trainer proceeds with next activity.

Introduce task
2 min

2. Introduce field work task.

Task: Using the observation sheet provided, make observations in the community in order to identify roles women, men and children have. After the field work, we will discuss your observations and identify sex patterns in the country.

Discuss work
sheet
15 min

3. Distribute observation sheets to participants. Ask participants to look at the various categories in the sheet. As an example of how to use the sheet, ask them to think about and list some of their expectations about men and women's roles based on what they already know about the culture. Discuss briefly some of the participants' examples. Trainer can end this discussion with a final comment: "Let's see how some of these expectations match your field experience."

Time is provided for participants to fill out the "Expect" column.

Before session is over, trainer can suggest some places to visit or ask participants to brainstorm a list of places to go for their observations i.e. market, family experience, others. Also, briefly discuss how are they going to get the information i.e. talking to people, observing, asking questons, others.

Distribute
additional
articles
5 min

If participants are limited to an urban setting, an article about roles in the rural setting should be distributed and assigned for the next meeting. (See sample.)

4. Field work or site visit (2 hours to one day).

Discussion of Field Work Experience: Part B

Introduction
10 min

1. Introduce session by restating the activities for the day. Ask participants for brief comments on their field experience; do a quick sharing on humorous or sad incidents from the visits.

Subgroups discussion 20 min

2. Divide group into subgroups of 3-5 and explain the task as follows:

Task: Discuss your observations of the field experience using the following guidelines:

a) similarities and differences between expected and observed behaviors

b) conclusions or learnings regarding sex role patterns in this country

c) observations which confused you or you would like to clarify; questions you have

Prepare a verbal report on roles identified and your major findings.

Group reports 45 min

3. Group reconvenes to discuss the reports. As the discussion proceeds, Trainer looks for conclusions and agreements regarding sex role patterns and develops a list on newsprint of male and female roles using the following categories:

Family/Home	Political/Public Life	Religious
Male-Female	Male-Female	Male-Female

Social/Community Life	Economic/Jobs	Education
Male-Female	Male-Female	Male-Female

(Other categories may be added but these seem to be the most important ones.)

If the list produced by the group at this point is too partial or incomplete, information from the assigned readings should be incorporated in order to provide "a picture" of sex role patterns in the country.

Throughout the discussion, or when list is completed, whichever is most appropriate, the following learning points should be introduced and emphasized:

a) difference between patterns and "special cases" or exceptions, i.e. the fact that there is one woman Prime Minister in the country does not make "Ministers" role a common role for women to have or imply that it is easy for women to be in that role.

b) role differences based on age, class, race and setting (urban or rural, others), i.e. important to analyze differences in roles between middle and upper middle class men and women and poor men and women.

c) need to continue observing and rechecking the observations and initial conclusions made on role and culture as participants experience more of the culture i.e. it would be misleading to consider today's analysis as final, no matter how "good" it has been. The observations and conclusions will keep "changing" as participants "see" and understand other aspects of the culture. The tendency to stereotype and over-simply should be discouraged during the discussions.

d) need to balance the process of making generalizations and reaching conclusions (a necessary step in learning) and differentiating between individual men and women. When applied excessively, the former leads to stereotyping, i.e. because a typical male role is X, does not mean that all men will do X. To assume that all men will do X without acknowledging individual differences is to stereotype.

Time should be provided for a resource person to share perceptions and opinions on this role list as it is developed by the group so that important modifications are made before proceeding with the next activity, i.e. the resource person can point out if participants are making generalizations for women's role based on urban observations without considering other roles of rural women. People from the country should participate all throughout this activity and help develop this list.

OPTIONAL
Resources
input
30 min

3a. If the presence of country resources is not possible throughout the activity, some time should be provided at the end of this part for a resource person to react, adding, deleting and providing further explanations on women's and men's roles in the host country. Similarities and differences between participants list and other resources should be pointed out and discussed. (If this is a separate activity from #3, the time allotted for the previous activity should be shortened.)

A period for questions and clarifications follows.

Overview
2 min

4. Introduce next activity:

"Based on the picture of sex role patterns we have just completed, the knowledge you have of the country, and the nature of role patterns, this activity will explore the implications of these role patterns on the integration of men and women in the development process of the country. We will identify and analyze barriers and opportunities which these role patterns represent for men and women in this country."

Subgroups
discussion
20 min

Ask the group to divide in same-sex groups of six (6) and explain the following task:

Task: For a moment, put yourself in the position and role of the opposite sex.
Men: list at least six (6) opportunities and six barriers facing women in the development process.
Women: list at least six opportunities and six barriers facing men in the development process.

Think individually, and then discuss in your groups. Prepare a report on the flipchart provided. When you finish, post your flipchart on the wall.

Distribute prepared flipcharts for each group (see sample).

As the groups finish their discussion, post their reports on the wall.

Group discussion 30 min

5. Participants are given the opportunity to look at all group reports posted on the wall. After all the flipcharts are seen, Trainer facilitates the group discussion.

Ask all male groups to react, ask for clarifications and discuss the opportunities and barriers listed by women. Ask women to react, ask clarifications and discuss men's reports on barriers and opportunities facing women. This process provides an opportunity to add, delete, confront misconceptions and stereotypes and discuss differences and similarities that participants perceive of opportunities and barriers facing each sex in the development process. (i.e. men see opportunities for women which women don't see for themselves; women see barriers for women which men don't see, and vice versa.)

Following are three different methods the Trainer can use to facilitate the group discussion.

a) as the discussion proceeds, prepare a newsprint of agreed-on opportunities and barriers resulting from the discussion.

b) Use a flipchart divided into three columns: shared perceptions; different perceptions; new learnings. As the discussion develops, list under each column.

c) Use the following categories to discuss and list barriers and opportunities: teachings and expectations affecting self-concept; legal; economic; family and religious traditions; others.

(See Trainer notes for a sample of method a.)

The participation of a resource person is recommended. The resource could contribute by clarifying constraints and opportunities as they exist in the country. He/she can also discuss and point out changing roles and expectations.

Group conclusions
15 min

6. Ask and facilitate participants sharing of ideas and conclusions from this session. Some examples are:

- Women face powerful barriers when seeking to participate in the development process which range from images of self to legal and economic restrictions.

- Sex role patterns are deeply rooted in cultural and religious traditions. The effort to eliminate some of the barriers these patterns create have enormous impact on individuals self concept and social systems.

- Women's opportunities are potential or future oriented; men's opportunities are more present oriented.

- Strictly enforced sex role patterns reinforce the tendency to see the world as either-or, male or female, and limit personal options as well as national options for the use of human resources.

Closure
5 min

7. Trainer closes the session by providing a bridge to the next session. Example: "In order to develop and implement realistic projects, we need to be aware of the opportunities and barriers facing men and women in this country. The next session will provide an opportunity to apply what has been learned today in a case study situation."

Materials:

- Flipchart for lecturette on Information, filters and sex role patterns. Part A, #1
- Sex Role Patterns Observation Sheet handouts
- Task flipchart. Part B, #2
- Categories flipchart. Part B, #3
- Flipcharts: Men's and Women's Barriers and Opportunities
- Reference article on Male and Female Role in the host country, if available (See sample provided)
- Reference article: Women and work around the world: a cross cultural examination of sex and division of labor and sex status (Optional)

Trainer Notes:

1. In activity #5, having same sex groups look at the opposite sex will have an important learning effect since it requires looking through the others' eyes and experience. Many persons are not aware of the impact that being a member of a particular sex, male or female, has on self-concept, opportunities for work, social involvement, education, and other life options. This exercise provides an opportunity for participants to pay attention to this process and apply it within the context of a development country. If there is only one person of the same sex, he/she should work individually.

2. This session could be presented in three sessions, providing more time for the discussion of field work observations and expanding the discussion to include traditions, customs and other aspects observed by the participants. This part of the session should be integrated with other cross-cultural sessions and not used only with the purpose of studying women's roles. Nevertheless, the proper balance should be achieved because the identification of men and women's roles and the barriers and opportunities these represent for participation in the development process is a necessary step in understanding the issues and activities of WID programming.

3. In many cases, participants will not be able to make clear-cut distinctions between men and women's roles. This is a reality in many countries and can be one of the major findings of this session. Phrases which help participants identify sex role patterns versus exceptions are: "what's typical"; "the majority"; "in most cases".

In addition, because we need to consider the changing nature of roles and role changes already taking place in the country due to development, modernization and other changes, sex role patterns will not be easy to identify or agree upon. The purpose of the session is to come out with "an initial picture" of sex roles in the host country, understanding its richness, diversity and changing nature and to identify important questions regarding sex roles, more than clear-cut answers or stereotypes.

4. A discussion about how do sex roles change is appropriate during activity #7. We recommend listing or talking with participants about the factors which effect role changes in societies, such as economic, world politics, mass media, others. If this discussion is well managed, it will help participants recognize that men and women's roles are changing or will change, irregardless of their

presence in the country and due to other, much more profound changes occurring in the country; it is not "cultural imperialism" to address that reality.

5. Following is a sample of participants comments and a flipchart sample which helps facilitate activity #6 using the first method suggested.

Women's Barriers	Women's Opportunities
-historic preceptions, traditions and stereotypes	-potential for opportunities and participation
-child bearing and raising	-important role in agriculture
-mechanization which does not integrate women	-abilities to garden, sell, others
-health problems	-recognition for being "better" workers
-seasonal jobs	
-men's power and their reluctance to give it up	

Men's Barriers	Men's Opportunities
-dependent on women for "subsistence" needs	-mobility
-maintenance of "macho" image	-assumed leadership role
-resistance to "better" changes because of obligations they feel	-not so strong family ties and responsibilities
-have only "one" skill	-own land; access to credit
	-educational opportunities
	-"good" assumptions and stereotypes about the kind of work they can do

6. Some specific questions the Trainer can use to generate discussion or point out "cues" participants have not paid attention to during activity #3, Part B, are the following:

a) Within the family:

Who stays in the home; who cares for the children; who has responsibility or does the domestic tasks; how are the meals served; who does the physically strenuous tasks; who gets what kind of food: who disciplines children; how do parents relate to the children?

b) Among families:

How do women relate to women, verbal and non verbal behavior; how do men relate to men, verbal and non verbal; how do men relate to women, verbal and non verbal; where do men and women gather; how do men and women collaborate or do not collaborate in doing their tasks?

c) Income generation:

Who works the fields; what type of work different people have in the fields; who does marketing of products; what type of work do women do; children; men; where are the jobs for men; women; children?

d) Social:

In what kind of social activities do men and women engage; separate; together; what recreational activities exist; how do men and women get to and participate in social activities?

e) Community Life:

Who is responsible for health care in the family; sanitation; who attends church; how long do children attend school; what social customs or mores are observed in the community?

HANDOUT

Sex Role Patterns Observation Sheet

INSTRUCTIONS: As you observe, listen to and experience the culture around you, use the following list of behaviors to structure the gathering of information you need to understand sex roles and to identify patterns. You can use it by selecting a category and finding a situation where male and female roles are acted out every day. You could choose a multitude of settings for structured and planned observations: visit a market; attend a community meeting; see a movie made on the culture; go to church; visit a gathering place (the plaza); walk the city or village streets; visit a farm; study your family "live-in" experience. This could also be done over a period of time as you absorb informally a number of community experiences. To cover many categories you might divide them among other participants, although there is benefit to a number of people having focused on the same category.

Before you go out, review the categories and list those behaviors you "expect" to find. (#1) Then, after you've been in the cultural situation you chose to observe, return to the list and check what you did observe or hear. Notice and reflect on any differences. Finally, add any comments or examples you wish to recall.

	Expected	Observed/ Heard	Cues/ Behaviors	Comments/ Examples
Within the Family				
Men				
Women				
Children				

HANDOUT

	Expected	Observed/ Heard	Cues/ Behaviors	Comments/ Examples
Among Families				
Men				
Women				
Children				
Income Generation				
Men				
Women				
Children				

HANDOUT

	Expected	Observed/ Heard	Cues/ Behaviors	Comments/ Examples
Politics				
Men				
Women				
Children				
Social				
Men				
Women				
Children				

HANDOUT

	Expected	Observed/ Heard	Cues/ Behaviors	Comments/ Examples
Community Life (Religion, Education, Health & Sanitation)				
Men				
Women				
Children				
Others:				

FLIPCHART SAMPLE

Women's Group

Opportunities		Barriers
	MEN'S ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT	

FLIPCHART SAMPLE

Men's Group

Opportunities		Barriers
	WOMEN'S ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT	

SAMPLE

Women in Rural
Northeast Society in Thailand

Saisuree Chutikul, Khon Kaen University
Khon Kaen, Thailand

This document was obtained through
The Secretariat for Women in
Development/TransCentury

This paper is not a complete case study in the true sense of the word, but rather a summary of our observations based on interviews with rural women, Thai and foreign educators and community developers. As far as we know there is little research concerning women specifically and the changing role of the rural women has not been studied at all. Most literature concerning rural Thailand has been about socio-economic conditions, the resources of the country, factors that help or hinder economic development, and the improvement of livestock and fisheries.

This paper is confined to the Northeastern region of Thailand. It has about 14 million people, that is one third of the population, and covers one third of the country's land. The per capita income in 1969 was only 25% of that of the central region and was the lowest of the four regions. (East Asia and Pacific Department, 1972). In terms of history and culture the Northeast has been influenced by the Laos and Khmers and is culturally distinguished from other regions by the use of the Esarn Language. The economy of the region has been largely characterized by subsistence farming of rice and a few cash crops such as kenaf, cassava, maize and cotton. The production of these cash crops has improved considerably in the past ten years. The current expansion of cropped areas now under kenaf and cassava, and to some extent of maize, is largely taking place on upland soils of inherently limited fertility. The population explosion has led people to utilize upland soils which were formerly under forest and scrub, and tend to lose their structure and fertility under prolonged cultivation. The Northeast has a large share of Thailand's livestock population; 47% of the total buffalo population of 7.2 million and 45% of the 5.5 million cattle population. The livestock are used mainly for land cultivation, and transport. Fresh water fish provides most of the protein available to the rural population. The Northeast produces a sizeable amount of raw silk of mixed grade, silk yarn and cloth on small family farms. The rural population of the Northeast is growing at a rate of 3.6% per annum which is somewhat higher than the national rate, but there is no comparative economic growth.

Now we will turn to women in Northeast Thailand, and specifically rural women. Thai women, by comparison to other Asian women, have always enjoyed higher political status. They gained rights to vote and to run for general elections at the same time as men under Thailand's first constitution in 1932. Urban women have better educational opportunities than rural women. They become more independent, are more likely to earn their own living, seek other interests outside the home and are able to enter many professions including government services. (Hon. Sanya Dharmasakti, 1972) However, compared to men, relatively fewer women hold special rank, or high government positions. The proportion is fifteen to one. The ratio of men to women voted on to the National Assembly is about the same. An even smaller proportion of women hold important policy-making positions within the country. There are no women governors, district officers or hospital directors. Note that these are all urban positions but this is also true for rural public positions such as village headman.

A comparison of educational status of rural men and women indicates that at all ages over six years relatively fewer women attend schools or other educational institutions. A sample of the 1960 census showed that at the beginning of secondary school the ratio of men to women attending school is more than two to one. A sampling of 1500 rural households in 1969 showed that relatively more rural subjects were attending educational institutions at all levels, but the ratio of men to women attending secondary schools above grade 10 was still close to 2:1 (see Table 1). This data refers to the rural population throughout the country, and reflects the educational structure in the Northeast.

There is inequality in the legal rights of men and women. A man can sue his wife for committing adultery, but a woman cannot use the same grounds for suing her husband. A married woman cannot take a new job or new profession without her husband's consent. A man can sell common property without the consent of his wife, but the wife cannot do likewise. There is also inequality in the practice of the law. By law, a man cannot register more than one marriage, but in practice it is not unusual for a man to have multiple registrations unless the first wife takes the matter to court. The Association of Women Lawyers of Thailand is contesting this matter in the National Assembly. Note here that this is an urban problem. Rural women are still unaware of these inequalities in marriage and family laws.

In rural areas, where families live on subsistence economy all members of the family except those who are in primary school (grades 1 to 4) join in most aspects of the farm work (Lefferts, 1973). There is a division of labor between the sexes. In the field, men do heavy work such as ploughing, cutting firewood, and sawing lumber; women do lighter tasks such as planting and harvesting the crops. At home men dig ditches, saw wood and build houses while women prepare food, wash clothes, and clean house. Men or children look after the animals and prepare looms for weaving cloth, and women and girls raise silk worms, spin thread, and weave cotton or silk cloth. The elder siblings take care of their younger brothers and sisters or help with house and field work. Even though male and female jobs are clearly defined there are no taboos against a woman ploughing or a man planting or harvesting the rise.

In terms of food preservation men kill the animals, cut beef or buffalo meat into pieces to be salted and dried, catch fish and make fermented fish, while women salt and dry meat, and clean fish. Very few vegetables and fruits are preserved, and generally for short time periods. One of the possible reasons for limited preservation of vegetables and fruits is that people do not know how to preserve and they can obtain cash income for selling vegetables in the market. Unlike rural Thai women, Chinese and Vietnamese women in Thailand know and practice the technique of vegetable preservation. The staple foods of rural Northeast Thailand are glutinous rice and fermented fish. However, the way fermented fish is preserved results in liver fluke and other intestinal diseases (Harinasuta, et. al., 1970; Sornmani et. al., 1972).

A Northeastern family averages 6.6 persons. Ninety-five percent of rural families have six or more members. Infants and young children spend most of their time near their mothers. A child is nursed for a year or two unless it is the last one, and in that case is nursed longer. Birth spacing seems to cluster regularly around the two year mark. A child begins school at 7 and attends school until 11. There is compulsory education till 4th grade. Approximately 20 percent of the children go on to the 4th grade in Northeast Thailand (East Asia Pacific Department, 1972) and the number continuing to the 5th grade had gone up to 35% by 1974. The majority of 11 year olds who leave school are engaged in useful work in and around the home. In the population census the labor force survey includes everyone over the age of 11. The girls help their mothers with the household work, gardening, hauling water and taking care of younger siblings while boys have a little more freedom; but they also get involved in these or other male roles. The child acquires a useful status in the family at quite an early age. The youngest daughter is expected to stay around the family, take care of her parents and she and her husband generally inherit the family land. Socially, women and girls stay in the background when they are in the presence of men; at meal times men eat first and women follow after men complete their meal. As women grow older their freedom to comment on social, personal and sexual affairs of the community is relaxed. There is a marked contrast between the prudish behavior of younger women and crude language of older women. Grandparents are usually well taken care of, and they in turn take care of grandchildren.

Both women and men do the selling of their merchandise. Women confine their activities to lighter goods such as clothes, silk, vegetables and other foodstuffs. Men tend to sell cows and buffaloes and larger earthen containers. During the dry season both single men and women move to work in factories in towns to supplement their income. However, a large number of these seasonal migrants are men or young couples who leave their children at home to be taken care of by their wives and/or grandparents. In one of the poor villages where we interviewed several women, we learned that men usually give their cash income to their wives who spend most of it on food. When a man needs to buy something, he asks his wife for money. If the couple needs to get anything for their children or the house they discuss the matter together until both agree. However, men from more prosperous villages are likely to keep and spend much more of the cash income on themselves. Most rural people are classified as farmers in the national population census. Farmer in Thai, (Kasikorn) is a general term which means one who cultivates land for cereal crops, fruit or vegetable or one who raises cattle or poultry.

During the preparation of this paper we discovered very little specific written information on the changing role of rural women. We do know that these roles are likely to be affected by a number of local development programmes which are bringing economic and social change. These changes could be studied initially by a base-lined survey of the present condition, expectations and aspirations of these women, how they view themselves economically, and how this economic change affects their daily lives. Some villages which were at subsistence level have experienced tremendous economic change within the last five years because of the development of home industries carried out mainly by women. These villages could be compared with others which as yet remained unchanged.

It can be seen that rural women play as important a role in their society as the men do, and the growth and development of village communities cannot happen without their active participation. The immediate concerns for development must be first to raise the standards of the very poor at least to a tolerable level of subsistence. And secondly to provide information and awareness for those whose economic circumstances are improving so that the women can realize their potential.

The sort of programme which could be provided are (1) the teaching of new skills for women in the preservation of fermented fish and seasonal fruits and vegetables, (2) the introduction of new recipes using foods already available and high in nutritional value, (3) the development of the culture of silk for marketing raw, or introducing higher standards of quality and design of woven silk for sale at local, urban or international markets, (4) the introduction of more efficient materials and simple machinery for dyeing and weaving, (5) help in locating and meeting the demands of new markets for traditional local products.

And last, perhaps most important, we should cultivate an awareness of good parental roles and child care. To be effective this should include consultation with the women themselves. We should not see development solely in terms of what we would like to see happen to them.

Table 1

Comparison of rural only 1960 census data (1% sample) with longitudinal study 1960 rural data of years of school or completed (age 6 and over).

Years of school completed	1% Census Sample				Longitudinal Survey			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
None	28,800	32.2	41,543	45.9	87	15.4	1,024	26.4
Primary 1-4	54,453	60.9	46,973	51.8	2,795	73.3	2,598	66.8
Secondary 1-3	2,900	3.2	1,127	1.2	214	5.7	151	3.9
Secondary 4-6	1,941	2.2	643	0.7	130	3.4	65	1.7
Pre-University 1-2	347	0.4	100	0.1	35	0.9	13	0.3
University 1-3	138	0.2	60	0.1	9	0.3	3	0.1
University 4 or more	26	0.03	5	0.01	6	0.2	1	0.03
Religious	383	0.4	2	0.01	-	-	-	-
Other	159	0.2	36	0.1	7	0.2	13	0.3
Unknown	295	0.3	126	0.1	26	0.7	18	0.5
Total	89,442	100.0	90,615	100.0	3,808	100.0	3,826	100.0

From : The Methodology of the longitudinal study of social, economic and demographic change, Institute of Population Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Research Report No. 6, December 1971.

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From: Beyond Sex Roles, by Alice G Sargent, West Publishing Company, USA, 1977

Module III-17

women and work around the world: a cross-cultural examination of sex division of labor and sex status

Rae Lesser Blumberg

It has been suggested that there are three main roads to power: economic, political, and military (for example, Lenski, 1966). For women, the empirical evidence shows no society where their political or military power even equals that of men. However, there are a number of groups where women enjoy more economic power than men—and fairly equal status in other areas as well (Blumberg, 1974a).

So for women, the only feasible route to equal status has proved to be the economic one. But the evidence also suggests that there is a toll that must be paid to enter the economic route to power and equal status. This toll is labor in the main productive activities of the society. On the one hand, work is not enough, and there are a number of societies where women do most of the labor yet are treated little better than slaves (for instance, the Azande; see Sanday, 1973). But, on the other hand, in groups where women do not contribute much to "bringing home the bacon," their status has been found to be invariably low (Sanday, 1973).

In short, productive labor is for women an apparently necessary (although insufficient) precondition for equality. To what extent are women involved in productive labor? And under what conditions do women work? These are the two main topics of the present paper.[1]

As I shall discuss in the Summary and Conclusions, I am engaged in a larger research project on factors affecting the position of women. I have formulated a preliminary theory, which begins by predicting under what conditions women work in productive activities. The theory hypothesizes conditions under which women's labor may be translated into economic power. Finally, it predicts the kinds of equal opportunities that women's economic power will pay for (Blumberg, 1974a). Presently, I am attempting a partial and preliminary test of the theory. Toward this end, I have coded most of the main variables of my theory in a pilot sample of 61 preindustrial societies, using the Human Relations Area Files. Some preliminary results are indicated at various points in this paper (to be reported in Blumberg, forthcoming). Finally, to get additional data for this paper, I have done some special computer runs on Murdock's 1170-society Ethnographic Atlas. Results from these runs are referred to at several places in the paper.

As we shall see, societies where women do not contribute much to family support are in a great minority from an evolutionary or worldwide perspective. The fact that today's industrial societies all have recently emerged from an agrarian past of low female economic productivity and subjugated female status helps explain the ethnocentrism of the predominant view of women's work and worth. But we should not let this ethnocentric heritage cloud our theories of woman's past position and—more important in an era of rapid social change—her future potential.

At one extreme of the prevailing view of women and work, Charlotte Perkins Gilman wrote in 1894: "The female of genus *homo* is economically dependent on the male. He is her food supply" (Babcox & Belkin, 1971, p. 139). In the 1940s and 1950s, Talcott Parsons, perhaps the most influential American sociologist of those decades, was writing a somewhat more technically phrased version of the same view: The husband is the main provider, "whereas the wife is primarily the giver of love . . ." (Parsons & Bales, 1955, p. 151).

How much more than love do women contribute? George Peter Murdock has compiled data on hundreds of contemporary groups in his life work, *Ethnographic Atlas* (1967). Using it, Aronoff and Crano (1975) calculate that women contribute 44 percent of the food supply as a world average. Women are not parasites.

Nevertheless, the range of variation of women's work is quite great. In my own calculations from the Ethnographic Atlas (using the 1170-society computer tape version), I found that in about 2 percent of the societies, the women contributed virtually nothing to the food supply; at the other extreme, in roughly 2 percent of societies women contributed two-thirds or more. Since women's economically productive work is the first precondition to power and equality, and the empirical evidence shows such high variation, how can we predict how much productive labor women in a given society are likely to do?

Specifically, I suggest that two major factors influence female's economic productivity: first, the extent to which the activity is compatible with childrearing, especially nursing babies (Brown, 1970). Second, labor demand versus supply—whether an excess of available men means that some take women's jobs away, or whether a shortage of men means that women are brought in to do even those tasks which are incompatible with simultaneous childraising obligations.

The evidence for both pre-industrial and industrial societies is given in the next part of this paper. Part 1 is an evolutionary overview of women and work in societies at four levels of societal complexity. For the three pre-industrial levels (hunting and gathering, hoe horticulture, and plow agriculture), the broad outlines of female contribution to the food supply can be ascertained largely from the first factor, that is, mainly by examining the compatibility of the main subsistence activities with baby-tending. Thus, in gathering and hoe horticulture groups, women tend to be the major economic providers. Their status in such societies tends to be considerably better than in the plow agrarian—and some industrial—societies where their productivity is also much less. Part 2 of the paper consists of brief sketches of selected modern societies, industrial or industrializing ones. Here, the main activities are done away from home and children and thus are relatively incompatible with simultaneous child care, yet women work in varying proportions in all these groups. So in Part 2 the focus is more strongly on the second factor, demand for labor vs. supply, in accounting for the position of women in their group's labor force.

1. an evolutionary overview

In this section, we shall examine four types of societies, representing increasing levels of societal complexity: 1) hunting and gathering, the least complex; 2) horticultural, based on shifting hoe cultivation; 3) agrarian, which necessitates plow cultivation on permanent fields (hoe and plow cultures are quite different as we shall see); and finally, 4) industrial and industrializing societies, the most complex.[2]

hunting and gathering societies

In the two million or more years that humans have walked the earth, for all but about the last ten thousand we were hunters and gatherers. The mystique surrounding hunting and gathering societies is that of "Man the Hunter" (Lee & DeVore, 1968), and indeed, evidence from hundreds of societies shows that hunting is almost exclusively a male activity (Murdock & Provost, 1973). But although men hunt, these same sources show that it is women who do most of the gathering. Moreover, in virtually all but arctic hunting-gathering groups, the major part of the food supply, typically 60 to 80 percent, according to Lee and DeVore, is not hunted—it is gathered. In my calculations with the *Ethnographic Atlas* computer tape, I found information on the sexual division of labor for 85 groups whose main economic activity was gathering, and in 86 percent of these women proved to be the predominant labor force. In sum, women tend to bring home the main part of the diet. Nonetheless, most hunting-gathering groups prefer the food hunted by the men (Woodburn, 1968), and some even have a word in their language for "meatlessness." As Margaret Mead (1949) has observed, whatever men do is considered more important by the culture.

But what, then, of the position of women? In general, anthropological evidence from Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg (1915) onwards agrees that it is fairly good. Hunting-gathering societies generally are the world's most egalitarian (Lenski, 1970). Despite the strong sexual division of labor, women tend to be full economic partners (Leacock, 1972). They also tend not to be repressed sexually: In my own work based on a pilot sample of 61 preindustrial societies, including ten hunting-gathering groups, I have found that the hunters and gatherers rank highest in warm, cooperative relations between the sexes. Moreover, brides rarely are required to be virgins (a rule corelated with female oppression).

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[2] I am characterizing societies in terms of their main economic activity, or "subsistence base." This is a common technique in social science articles written from an evolutionary slant (see Goldschmidt, 1959; Lenski, 1970; Lomax et al., 1968, for related typologies).

horticultural societies

Originally, it was thought that cultivation was some sort of discovery, as though one day in the Middle East about ten thousand years ago, Thor informed an incredulous Og: "Seeds sprout into plants!" Whereupon the entire society proceeded to take advantage of Thor's magnificent finding (Macneish, 1964 p. 533). But recent archeological and anthropological evidence has drawn a very different picture. First, no known hunt-gathering group is ignorant of the connection between plants and the seeds from which they sprout (Flannery, 1971 p. 81). Second, cultivation developed gradually over millennia; and it appears that since intensification of cultivation is usually more and harder work (Boserup, 1965), people adopted it only when driven to increase their food supply, most likely because of local population pressure (Binford, 1971; Meyers, 1971). Third, given the sexual division of labor in hunting-gathering societies, early cultivation and its development almost surely seems to have been the work of women (Childe, 1964, pp. 65-66). Given the many archeologists who agree with V. Gordon Childe in viewing the emergence of horticultural societies as the first great social revolution in human history (Lenski, 1970 p. 194), the continuing invisibility of women in most books about this era seems unjustified, although not surprising.

Yet, probably "the earliest Neolithic (prehistoric horticultural) societies through their range in time and space gave woman the highest status she has ever known" (Hawkes & Woolley, 1963, p. 264). These same authors consider that the widespread remains of mother goddess clay figurines and shrines indicate that woman was religiously as well as economically important in nearly all Neolithic groups from Southwest Asia to Britain (cited in Leavitt, 1971, p. 394).

What about the horticultural societies surviving into the present era? Most of these are located in sub-Saharan Africa or in the islands of the Pacific. In computer runs using the *Ethnographic Atlas*, I have found that only about one-fifth of the societies in which shifting hoe cultivation is the main economic activity have predominantly male labor forces. This formation is based on the 376 such societies for which sex division of labor data are available. For Africa as a whole, it recently has been estimated that 70 percent of the cultivation is in the hands of women (Economic Commission for Africa, 1974). In general, hoe horticulture is an activity which easily can be coordinated with child care—and the contemporary data show that it is.

The majority of women in contemporary horticultural societies live in Africa in groups where they must reside with their husband's kin, and are brought in as an outside labor force to farm lands they do not own.[1] Moreover, they are still quite likely to live in groups practicing polygyny. To the extent that women do not control property and the products they produce, female status seems to suffer. Nevertheless, women in horticultural societies more often than not can dispose of part of their production, often in market trading. In fact, there are few horticultural groups that seem to give women a really low status or treat them little better than slave labor. Finally, in my own 61-society pilot sample, which includes 13 horticultural groups, I found considerable equality between the sexes on certain "life options." This proved especially true of divorces where horticulturist women usually enjoy equal or greater rights than their husbands to end a union. Also, I found considerable premarital sexual freedom for young women. The horticultural societies in my sample rank first in having egalitarian (vs. male supremacist) sexual ideology.

agrarian societies

Of the four types of societies discussed in this section, agrarian ones as a group represent the low point of women's status. The evidence in the Ethnographic Atlas shows us that most agrarian societies have a male-dominated division of labor; moreover, Michaelson and Goldschmidt's comparative study of 46 peasant societies reveals the near-universal prevalence of female subjugation (1971). Among the upper classes of traditional agrarian societies, who typically have lived in the cities (Sjoberg, 1960), such institutions of female seclusion as purdah (in India), foot-binding (in China), veiling, and the harem have reached their greatest intensity (Boserup, 1970). In other words, among the poor peasants of agrarian societies, women could not be totally shackled to the house because for certain tasks their labor was needed, especially during the peak agricultural season. Thus, while subservient to their husbands, they were less restricted in their activities than their less poverty-stricken counterparts. Upper-class women, while outranking lower-class people of both sexes, nevertheless typically spent their lives as caged birds. Compared to the peasant women, they were virtually without economic value for their men.

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[1] It should be noted that in those horticultural societies in which male-dominated hunting and herding are least important (accounting for less than 15 percent of subsistence), Lenski and Lenski (1974:132) show the maximum incidence of maternal kin institutions. Fully 39 percent of such societies are "matrilineal" (have organized descent groups traced through the mother only), and in addition, 22 percent of them are "matrilocal" (require the newly wed couple to live with the bride's kin). Matrilineal or matrilocal groups do not automatically mean high status for women, although their status seems generally better in such societies than in those dominated by partriarchal institutions (Leavitt, 1971).

Agrarian societies, which replaced the hoe with the plow, arose in the Middle East around 5,000 years ago and spread through Asia and Europe. Specifically, agrarian societies are based on plow cultivation of cereal crops in permanent fields. There are two main kinds of agrarian groups, those practicing dry cultivation of these crops versus those who irrigate. In general, the labor contribution and status of women is higher among the irrigationists, particularly if the crop is paddy rice and especially if the women do market trading as well. Labor demands in wet rice agriculture are so great that societies rarely have the option or the luxury of freezing their women out of production. Boserup (1970) has shown that in the agrarian societies of Southeast Asia and Indonesia, which are based on irrigated rice agriculture (and where females are active in trade), the position of women is better than in agrarian societies practicing dry farming (such as Northern India and much of the Middle East). In these dry agrarian regions there usually is a surplus, not a shortage, of male labor (Lenski, 1966) and, conversely, the tasks of tending the distant fields often are difficult to combine with baby care. So the women's economic importance is not great.

In these societies, even religion is patriarchal, and reinforces women's lowly status (Boserup, 1970). But religion per se does not seem responsible for this. For example, in those areas of Indonesia where women have long been active in rice cultivation and market trading, hundreds of years of Islam, following centuries of Hinduism, have not undermined most aspects of their relatively high status (Vreede-de Stuers, 1967). Despite such bright spots, however, agrarian societies tend to oppress women sexually, economically, legally, politically, and religiously.

Industrial Societies

Except for horticultural Africa, where the process of modernization seems to be partially undermining women's traditional economic importance (Boserup, 1970), industrialization seems to have provided women with new opportunities. For example, the emergence of widespread wage labor has constituted a new option for women, even if the work is ill-paid.

Industrialization flowered first in nineteenth century England. Employers learned early in the industrialization process that women (and children) were cheaper to hire than men. In England, for example, Smelser cites figures showing that the introduction of the power loom meant that "women and boys in factories replaced men who had worked (as weavers) at home" (Smelser, 1959, p. 200, quoting Hammond, 1920). However, sex segregation of occupations also emerged quite early (Oppenheimer, 1973), so that males were able to limit competition from lower-paid females. Notwithstanding, industrialization greatly increased the size of a nation's economy and its demand for labor. As a result, female employment has gradually increased to the point where it is now important in all industrial nations, capitalist and socialist alike. In these countries, women comprise about a quarter to a half of the entire labor force (see, for example, Sullerot, 1971). Nevertheless, numerous studies show that females still earn much less than their male counterparts.

Industrialization also marks the first time that women have participated on a large scale in production away from home, family property, and children. Furthermore, we should note that the status of women, sexually, economically, legally, politically, and religiously, slowly tended toward general improvement as industrialization advanced in previously agrarian societies. And, of course, all of Europe, as well as the United States and Japan, were characterized by agrarian economies at the start of industrialization.

To speculate, perhaps this agrarian heritage of low female productivity and status has played a part in the persistent view of both social scientists and mass media that economically, women are excess baggage. In contrast to this erroneous ethnocentrism, we have seen that in the two types of society where the main subsistence activity is easily compatible with care of unweaned children (gathering and hoe horticulture), women tend to bring home the major share of the food. On the whole, their status in such societies tends to be considerably better than that of their less productive sisters in agrarian (and some industrial) societies.

Let us continue our exploration of the economic role of women by turning now to sketches of women's work and position in a small number of industrial or industrializing groups. In all of the cases, the main subsistence activities are not easily compatible with child-care responsibilities (even though bottle feeding now makes this a cultural, not a biological, constraint), so we must look to the economy's needs for specific types of labor to interpret women's changing economic participation.

2. women's work and women's status in the contemporary world: selected cases

United States

The first case to be considered is that of the United States, a country where many authors assumed that the revolution for sexual equality had been fought and won, until a rising women's movement raised their consciousness. (In 1940, for example, a book actually entitled *Victory, How Women Won It* was published.) In the United States, most sociology, both popular and professional, is built up around a mythical and model white middle-class way of life. Among this group we long have been told that the husband is the principal breadwinner, while the wife stays home reading *McCall's*, tending the children, and buying the consumer goods on which the economy flourishes (see, for example, Parsons, 1942). Furthermore, it was long held that even though their roles are so disparate, husband and wife are relatively equal in the United States.

The actual facts are quite different. In the first place, United States women are increasingly likely to work. In 1900, only 20 percent of American females ages 18 to 64 were in the labor force, but by 1970, this figure had risen to 50 percent (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1971, p. A-10). Also, by that year, 60 percent of female workers were married women living with their husbands (Sokoloff, 1974). But even though labor force participation has been increasing in recent years, rewards have been declining relative to those of American males. Knudsen (1969) shows from United States Census data that there was a gradual but persistent decline in women's occupational, economic, and educational achievements, compared to those of men, in the period 1940 to 1964. And Ehrlich (1974, p. 2) also uses United States Census Bureau figures to document the increasing gap in the ratio of women's to men's earnings. Comparing only full-time, year-round workers, Ehrlich shows that in 1955, American women made 64 percent as much as men. By 1970, the figure had declined to 59 percent (women's median—$5,403 vs. male median—$9,104, so that for every dollar a man earned, a woman earned only fifty-nine cents).

If the relative reward has been declining, why has the female labor force increased so sharply, especially in the period beginning with the 1940s? Sokoloff (1974) has shown empirically that most women in the United States work out of sheer economic necessity, for the standard of living of even middle-class households often can be maintained only by more than one wage earner. And the reason these women have been able to work has been shown by Oppenheimer (1973) to be economic demand.

Oppenheimer notes that in 1900, the few women who participated in the labor force tended to do so before marriage and children. As it happened, women by that year were increasingly monopolizing precisely those sectors of the labor force destined to undergo the greatest expansion in subsequent decades: clerical and service jobs. Slowly, between 1900 and 1940, labor demand pulled in married women, but mainly those without school-age children. By World War II, not only was Rosie the Riveter fully employed, but the economy had expanded to the point where married women with school-age children had joined their sisters in the labor force. After World War II, the likes of Rosie—highly paid women in "male preserve" manufacturing jobs—were forcibly laid off (Tobias & Anderson, 1973), and, as Betty Friedan (1963) has it, the feminine mystique settled upon the land.

But Oppenheimer shows that more women continued to join the labor force, especially after 1960. By then, the economy had grown to a state where it could fulfill its labor needs only by bringing in the last major untapped female group, mothers of preschool children. In the decade 1960-1969, for example, the proportion of working married women, aged 20-24 (husbands present) with preschool children rose by 82 percent from 18 percent in 1960 to 33 percent in 1969 (Oppenheimer, 1973, p. 947). More generally, during the years of the "feminine mystique," the 1950s, as few as six out of 100 women with preschool children worked, but by 1970, the overall figure was about 30 percent (Blakkan, 1972).

Given prevailing attitudes toward working mothers of young children, the mothers of preschoolers who worked during the 1950s included mostly lower-income women, plus a few career women who did not leave their jobs when their children were born. Recently, however, the range of mothers of preschool children entering the labor force has broadened considerably to include many middle-class mothers. Some of these may be working for reasons of personal fulfillment; more of them are probably working in order to provide the standard of living to which they aspire but for which their husbands' income alone is insufficient (Sokoloff, 1974). In support of this view, Oppenheimer (1974) shows that within each professional category, it is the wives of the relatively lower-paid men in the category who are most likely to be in the labor force.

The lesson of the United States might be that economic demand was powerful enough in every instance to draw workers into the production force, even female workers constrained by the then-prevailing ideology from working outside the home. If this is the case, we should be able to test whether this lesson can be generalized across other industrializing and industrial societies.

Soviet Union

In the case of the Soviet Union, women are a much more important part of the labor force, both in status and in numbers. Many more Russian than American women have high-status jobs as scientists and professionals. Partly as a result of the tremendous number of men killed during World War II, about one-half of the Soviet labor force is female. According to Goldberg (1972), 80 percent of urban women in the prime child-rearing years, 20 to 39, are in the labor force. In Russia, women not only do urban industrial jobs, but since World War II it is women—and often middle-aged ones at that—who also do the traditionally male farming jobs. In fact, it is estimated that up to 73 percent of unmechanized and very strenuous farming activities are being done by females (Goldberg, 1972). Moreover, this percentage represents millions of women because as Goldberg notes, agricultural workers accounted for close to half of the labor force until recently.

Yet, in the Soviet Union, for all their economic importance, women do not share very greatly in the political power centralized in the Communist Party. Only about 3 percent of the current Central Committee consists of women; and, as in the United States, they are found as rarely in top government jobs (Goldberg, 1972).

Japan

The women's labor situation is much more oppressive in another industrial country, Japan. Because of the great World War II casualties and close to thirty years of economic expansion, Japanese women are necessary to the labor market, but they are less than equal to men in the market. Ginzberg (1971) paints the following picture: about 40 percent of the work force is female, a high proportion for a nonsocialist industrial nation. More than 50 percent of females work; the highest rate is 71 percent of women 20 to 24, dropping to about 50 percent of women 25 to 29, and fluctuating between 50 and 60 percent until the rate starts declining for women aged 55 to 64 (Ginzberg, p. 94).

But these rates are deceptive. Ginzberg shows that the large numbers of older working women are mainly agricultural workers, and these are mainly unpaid. Fully 36 percent of the 19 million Japanese women in the labor force work on farms, and there are a million more women farmers than men. But about 80 percent of female farmers are unpaid family workers, and more than half of all farm families' incomes are earned away from the farm. This has meant that "the high rate of savings that has been of critical importance to the country's rapid growth was stimulated by the fact that many women ran the family farm while their husbands found industrial jobs" (Ginzberg, p. 95).

What about females not employed on farms? Ginzberg documents that these are typically low-paid young women who work until marriage and then are forced to leave by employer and tradition. Ginzberg discusses Japan as a land where male wages are geared to seniority. Thus:

> The importance of a supply of female employees who will work at low wages is underscored by the fact that for women production workers, taking the wages of the age group from 20-24 as 100, the wages of the next group, 25-29, is 101. For men, meanwhile, for whom the seniority principle operates, those aged 40-49 earn 170! When the wage differentials of nonproduction workers are compared, for men the wages rise to 256 in the 40-49 group, while the comparable figure for women is 150 (p. 95).

In short, the sharply rising costs of keeping men on the payroll are avoided by the employment of women, especially young ones whose rapid turnover results in their earning little more than the entry wage. And that wage is low.

> The other major gain that accrues to employers in hiring women evolves from the fact that even today a woman production worker earns only about half the salary of the average male with the same tenure. The discrepancy with respect to new production workers is even wider (pp. 95-96).

As for the future, Ginzberg notes that the supply of young women workers "is being radically reduced by a combination of demographic and educational developments." The solution would seem to be the incorporation of large numbers of mature married females into the nonagricultural work force. But it remains to be seen whether this will be accompapanied by an improvement in the relative position of women workers in male-dominated Japan.

Venezuela

So far we have looked briefly at economically expanding *industrial* nations—The United States, the Soviet Union, and Japan. Venezuela is a good example of that much rarer breed—the economically expanding *industrializing* nation. For the last generation, Venezuela's oil-based economy has been having a fairly consistent boom. During the early years of the boom, the nation was under the Perez-Jimenez dictatorship (1948-1958). His immigration policies brought hundreds of thousands of Southern Europeans to the small country (see, for example, Kritz, 1973). When he was overthrown, the immigration laws were revised and employment laws changed to force the oil companies and other modern industrial enterprises to employ more native Venezuelans. This was of immediate benefit to Venezuelan men, especially educated ones. The oil boom continued (except during the years 1958 through 1961) and the government's share of oil revenues grew larger and larger during the course of the 1960s and early 1970s. At the same time the government also expanded and the need for professionals of many kinds became more pressing.

The only way to fill the ever-growing demands for bureaucrats and professionals from many different fields was to tap the last legal market for such jobs, namely Venezuelan women (Blumberg, 1973). Employers were of course, highly selective, hiring only the women with most education and skills. At this time Venezuelan women are only about 20 percent of the labor force (*Encuesta del Hogar*, 1970), half the rate of Japan. But at upper levels, 18.8 percent of Venezuelan working women versus only 6.3 percent of their male counterparts held professional or technical jobs in 1970 (*Encuesta del Hogar*, 1970). (In the United States for that year, the percentages were roughly 14 percent for each sex). And Venezuelan women are being well educated; large numbers of them are obtaining degrees in fields where American women receive only a tiny fraction of the diplomas.

Let us examine the figures for Venezuelan women graduated in a selection of "nontraditional" fields. The most recent figures (1969) unfortunately do not include the graduates of Central University, the country's largest institution for higher education. The numbers are small, in proportion to the relatively small population of Venezuela, but they do present an interesting picture.

Table 1. *proportion of Venezuelan university degrees earned by women in selected "non-traditional" fields, 1969**

Fields	*Percent*	*(N)*
Pharmacy	81.4	(35)
Dentistry	67.4	(43)
Architecture	51.5	(33)
Economics	41.4	(70)
Law	33.7	(188)
Business Administration-Accounting	35.7	(70)

*Excludes Central University, the nation's largest; data shown are for Universidad Central Occidental, Universidad del Zulia, Universidad de los Andes, Universidad Catolica Andres Bello. Source: Urbaneja and Millar (1971:43), based on *Memoria y Cuenta 1969-70*, Ministry of Education, pp. 494, 501, 513, 519.

Not all nontraditional fields have been "invaded" to the same extent by Venezuelan university women. The same source shows, for example, that 23.2 percent of the 297 medicine degrees went to females in 1969. But, interestingly enough, only 66.7 percent of the 12 nursing degrees were won by women in this traditionally all-female field. How does this table compare with United States data? There's almost no comparison! In the United States, to give two examples, women received only 0.8 percent of the dentistry degrees and 3.4 percent of the law degrees in 1964-1965 (Epstein, 1970:60).

Israel—the kibbutz

We have been discussing the labor forces of three nations, in which an expanding economy or a sudden hole in the demographic pyramid caused by war or by migration has increased the demand for women in the market, regardless of previously prevailing ideology. In contrast to these situations, there is the case of the Israeli kibbutz, where the opposite condition prevails.

In Israel, a group of idealistic East European Jewish founders (who were largely male) established an agrarian socialist experiment which has thrived for half a century. In fact, the kibbutz has remained true to its founding principles in almost every respect save that of sexual equality. One of the principles which the kibbutz was founded upon was the emancipation and equal status of women and their participation in production. As it happened, kibbutz women, in a process of attrition, were eased out of agrarian production and into the domestic and child-care services from which they were supposed to have been liberated.

The main reason for this attrition was the techno-economic base of the kibbutz, namely agriculture. Everywhere it exists, an agrarian economy has proven unfavorable to women (see Blumberg, 1974b; 1976a). In fairness, the kibbutz founders undoubtedly were unaware of the cross-cultural evidence that the agrarian labor force tends to be predominantly male. (This is so, I suggest, largely because the demands of agrarian production cannot conveniently be combined with child rearing. And, except for planting and harvesting, agrarian production does not need sufficient labor to require female participation when the demographic pyramid is normal.)

Another problem was that although the kibbutz attempted to free women from child rearing and domestic chores by collectivizing such services, they never specified in advance who would be doing those collectivized services. As it turned out, the kibbutz never sent men to the nurseries (Rabin, 1970; Gerson, 1972) and even though both sexes were supposed to work in the domestic drudgery services, women soon came to predominate. Ultimately, about 90 percent of kibbutz women became engaged in services, but many of them, especially those in the low-regarded kitchen and laundry branches, were so dissatisfied with their lot as to constitute a serious problem (see, for example, Spiro, 1963; Rosner, 1967).

The process can be traced as follows: when the early socialist kibbutzim were founded in the 1920s[1] both sexes labored side by side in agricultural production. In those days survival was difficult; children were rare. Then as the kibbutzim turned the corner on survival, the women (who numbered only 20 to 35 percent of the founders, according to Talmon, 1972 p. 9) began to have babies. On these points, all the major authorities on the kibbutz (including Talmon, Spiro, and Rabin) are in agreement.

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[1] The first kibbutz, Degania, actually was founded in 1909, but not until 1921, with the formation of Ein Harod, was the deliberately large (over 100 members), full-collective socialist kibbutz born. The 1920s and early 1930s then, constitute the pioneering period. In recent years, kibbutz growth has leveled off (most of it now coming from natural increase, not immigration), and as of late 1972 there were just over 100,000 kibbutzniks, living in 233 kibbutzim. The kibbutzim, representing around 3½ percent of Israeli population, are largely organized into three major federations, varying mainly in the purity of their socialist ideology.

These authors, however, do no mention what I believe to have been a crucial factor—the continuing arrival of *immigrants*—which the kibbutz was ideologically and economically bound to absorb. Like the kibbutz' founding generation, these immigrants were young, childless, and predominantly male. These characteristics of the immigrants were to prove important, I suggest.

The earlier kibbutzim had chosen agrarian production as their economic base, and any examination of an aerial photo of a kibbutz will reveal that the field crops are located farthest from the center of the settlement. Therefore, the women farmers, once they became mothers, were really hindered by another aspect of kibbutz ideology. This was the kibbutz emphasis on breast feeding and frequent contact of the mother with the child, even though child care was collectivized in unique "children's houses." Women forced to walk in the blazing midday sun from the distant fields, might be expected to dislike agrarian activities. In fact, they often did (Padan-Eisenstark, 1973). If however, the historical evidence of the kibbutz shows that the women did not want to be taken out of *production*, a removal which they saw, rightly, as the road to second-class status. What they argued for was a change in the kibbutz production mix. Specifically, at a 1936 conference (held by the largest of the three kibbutz federations), the women strongly urged more emphasis on the kinds of horticultural activities which, as we have seen in our previous overview, have been done by women throughout history, namely cultivating garden crops and tree crops, and the care of such small animals as poultry (Viteles, 1967 pp. 323-324). These activities take place close to the children's nurseries at the center of the kibbutz.

Unfortunately for the women though, in the kibbutz accounting system these horticultural activities appear less profitable than agrarian production. This is because horticulture uses proportionally more labor (that is for a given level of output) than agriculture, and the kibbutz' socialistic accounting method is based exclusively on the amount of labor devoted to production. Specifically, the kibbutzim, despite the fact that they exist as islands in a larger capitalist sea, almost from the start based their bookkeeping on the socialist "labor theory of value." (In this view, of the three factors of production—land, capital, and labor—only labor results in value added.) The kibbutzim measure labor by the criterion "income per labor day," so that which uses much more land (excluded from the bookkeeping) but less labor per unit of output than horticultural crops, win hands down.

In spite of all this, had there been no immigration, the women might have gotten their request for the production mix to be changed to emphasize their preferred horticultural activities (Blumberg, 1974b, 1976a). But the immigrants *did* arrive and I propose that increasing numbers reduced the pressure on the kibbutz to emphasize horticultural activities, which were accounted as less profitable.[9]

The result was attrition. The immigrants gradually replaced, first, the pioneer mothers; ultimately male arrivals replaced almost all women in agricultural production. In recent years, kibbutz women have been less than 10 percent of the productive agricultural labor force (see, for example, Spiro 1963, p. 225; Viteles, 1967, pp. 333, 336). The service sector, meanwhile, grew in size but not in mechanization so that they needed increasing numbers of workers. Ultimately these services absorbed more than half of all kibbutz workers, and 90 percent of the women, in the average kibbutz (see, for example, Talmon, 1972).

Thus, in the case of the kibbutz, ideology was insufficient to counteract structural tendencies caused first by the agrarian techno-economic base they chose; and second by demographic pressures in the form of the arrival of an immigrant labor force viewed as preferable to the kibbutz pioneer mothers.

Happily, especially since the 1960s, industrialization has reached the kibbutz (Barkai, 1971; Leviatan, 1972), and it appears that the deck is being reshuffled again. Specifically, the techno-economic base is changing to give greater weight to industrial activities. However, since immigration to the kibbutz has slowed to a trickle in recent years (Stern, 1973) and outside hired labor is still regarded with great ideological disapproval, women have been brought into kibbutz industry in increasing numbers. Already they are over 30 percent of the industrial labor force (Leviatan, 1972), although for a generation they were only 10 percent of the agricultural work team.

To reiterate, it appears that structure more than ideology caused the initial erosion of kibbutz women's role in production and then, after a generation of second-class status, the recent upswing of kibbutz women's participation in production followed the introduction of industrialization. This latter change in the productive mix occurred at a time when immigration to the kibbutz had largely dried up, so that if the kibbutzim were to avoid what was for them the ideologically repellent use of large numbers of outside hired workers, they had to turn to their own members for labor. Since few additional men could be freed from the kibbutz' highly mechanized agriculture (see Leviatan, 1972), this meant mechanizing services to reduce their labor needs and sending the women thus freed to work in kibbutz industry. Apparently this is

[9] I do not yet have data as to whether, during the period in question, kibbutz agrarian field crops proved consistently more profitable in the world market than their horticultural output. According to Barkai (1973), the picture seems mixed. (It should be noted that much of my discussions concerning the kibbutz involve hypotheses that are supported by a data base varying greatly in quality. For example, most of the materials on the early days of the kibbutzim are anecdotal, not statistical or empirical. Much of the literature on the kibbutz is based on these same anecdotal sorts of sources.)

happening today (Barkai, 1971).

In short, in various settings—the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, Venezuela, and the Israeli kibbutz—structural considerations concerning the nature of economic activities, and the nature of the balance between labor-force demand and supply, have been more important than ideological considerations in determining female participation in the economy.

summary and conclusions

At the beginning of this paper, I argued that for women, economic power was the only one of the three main types of power (the others are power of political position and power of force) in which they have been known to equal or dominate the men of their group. Economic power means control over the means and fruits of production, and it is not all that uncommon that women achieve substantial economic control. In fact, in my own research based on a pilot sample of 61 preindustrial societies, women's economic control equals or exceeds that of their menfolk in one-fourth to one-third of the cases for which I have data. Furthermore, there are well-known cases where women controlled virtually the entire economic pie (for instance, the Iroquois; see Martin & Voorhies, 1975).

How do women achieve economic power? The first step on the road seems to be participation in productive labor, in that women's position (economic and otherwise) has been low in groups where females do not contribute to the family's support.

Hence, women's productive labor has been the principal focus of this paper. First, we have seen that from a worldwide or evolutionary perspective, women are much more economically productive than ethnocentric stereotypes in our society give them credit for. Second, I have asserted—and provided varied cross-societal data—that the extent and nature of women's productive labor is influenced by two main factors: the degree of compatibility of the task with tending small children; and the state of the labor supply versus the need for workers. But women's productive labor is not an automatic road to economic power or other manifestations of equality. After all, slaves work too, and in some societies women may do most of the work and still be treated as virtual slaves.

If this paper has analyzed female productive labor as the first precondition for female economic power and equality, it has neglected two crucial subsequent questions concerning the position of women. First, under what circumstances can women's productive labor be translated into economic power over production and property? Second, for what other aspects of equality can women's economic power be cashed in?

My own recent research has been aimed at these questions (Blumberg 1974a; 1976b; forthcoming). Space limitations preclude their full treatment in this paper, but let me indicate the proposed answers suggested by my paradigm and the direction of the research.

Two main conditions permit women's work to be translated into women's economic control: the power women have via their group's kinship system; and how indispensable and strategic the women producers and their activities are to their society's survival. I view women's "strategic indispensibility," as more important.[6]

Finally, what are the practical advantages of women's economic power? As I see it, women's power (largely economically derived) is a kind of "poker chips" which may be "cashed in" for the various assets of equal status. I am interested not in which sex is held up on a pedestal, but in the extent to which women can determine their fate in major (noneconomic) life decisions or "life options."[7] After all, Victorian ladies were given the pedestal treatment but rarely allowed out of the house.

In summary, my findings indicate that productive labor does not lead women directly to freedom and equality. Rather, under certain circumstances, it can lead them to economic power. And economic power, in

[6] Broadly speaking, there are three main sorts of kinship arrangements in the world: those emphasizing paternal relatives, those emphasizing maternal kin, and those in which both paternal and maternal kin ties are reckoned (what anthropologists call bilateral systems). In general, women fare better in societies emphasizing links through female kin than in those with patriarchal institutions (see, for example, Leavitt, 1971). Especially important in my theory of sexual equality is whether residence is with the husband's kin, the wife's kin, both, or neither (Blumberg, 1974a). Where women can live near their own families after they marry, I have found them significantly more likely to exert economic power (Blumberg, forthcoming). Concerning the "strategicness" of women's productive labor, I suggest that there are a number of aspects above and beyond the kinship system, that affect the degree to which women's labor may bring them control over the means and fruits of production. Women seem more likely to gain economic power from their labor if their activities produce a large fraction of the group's output or diet, and, more importantly, are difficult to replace. Similarly, if the women themselves are virtually irreplaceable (because of their unique skills and/or the lack of replacement personnel), their probable power is enhanced. This would seem especially true if the women can manage to organize on their own behalf. Finally, if the women workers or their output are needed by competing segments of the society, their power position should also be enhanced.

Thus far, I have been unable to measure these proposed "indispensability" factors to see if they do, in fact, add to women's economic power. However, I have been able to collect data relevant to the last unexplored question of this paper—what other aspects of equality are affected by womens economic power.

[7] Specifically, there seem to be a series of "life options" which exist in every known human society. As the operational measurement of women's status I propose the freedom of women relative to the men of their group to decide these life options. These life options include relative freedom to: decide whether and whom to marry; terminate a marriage; engage in pre- and extramarital sex; regulate fertility (i.e., as far as possible to decide number, spacing, and sex ratio of children and the means of fertility control, such as contraception, abortion, and infanticide); control freedom of movement; have access to adult educational opportunity; and exercise de facto household authority. Thus far, in my analysis of a 61-society pilot study, my predictions have been supported by the data. "Life options" are proving much more strongly affected by women's economic power than by any other variable.

turn, seems to be the strongest influence on women's relative freedom and equality versus that of their menfolk in controlling their personal destiny—marriage, divorce, sex, children, free movement, education, and household power.

Actually, the connection between female work and economic power may be somewhat more direct and assured in Western industrial societies than in the preindustrial societies of my pilot sample, even though a handful of people, overwhelmingly male, control productive resources in industrial countries.[a] The reason for this slightly more direct link between work and power is that women in our kind of society work almost exclusively for wages, which are paid to the individual. The women worker may put all money in the family account but she brings home her own paycheck. And her paycheck usually permits her some say as to its disposition, as well as in other household decisions (see, for example, Blood & Wolfe, 1960). Even though she typically earns considerably less than a similarly qualified male, a woman with earnings does have more autonomy not just in the house, but also with respect to marriage and divorce. She may be less likely to marry just anyone and less afraid of terminating a bad marriage if she can earn a living on her own.

What does all this imply for the future of the American female? To the extent that American women's "paycheck power" continues and is supplemented by their organizing on their own behalf, as in the current Women's Liberation Movement, it seems logical to expect some degree of increasing equality between men and women in their basic life options. But it should be stressed that "paycheck power" is only a small part of what I have conceptualized as economic power. And it is an even smaller part of the larger political economy (which influences, among other things, who gets to work for what size paycheck) in which women currently play a negligible role in both capitalist and socialist countries. Accordingly, it would seem that organized attempts to change the system will weigh more heavily than even a hypothetical situation of 100 percent female employment if American women's life chances really were to be made equal to those of men.

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[a] In the United States, for example, a growing number of studies have found that income distribution has been substantially unchanged since World War II (or earlier), with the richest fifth receiving over 40 percent of total income, and the poorest fifth receiving only around 5 percent (see, for example, Ackerman, et al., 1972). Income, however, is only part of the story. Projector and Weiss' study for the Federal Reserve (1966) shows that in 1962, the wealthiest 20 percent of American households owned 76 percent of total national wealth and 96 percent of corporate stock. Considering only the wealthiest 1 percent, the survey found that these households controlled 32 percent of total wealth and 61 percent of corporate stock. For the corporate owners and managers overwhelmingly male who make up the major controllers of American productive capital, see Navarro, 1975. Of course, in socialist industrial countries such as the Soviet Union, income is more equally distributed, but control over the economy is retained by the central apparatus of the Communist Party, with a membership of less than 1 percent of the population.

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MODULE IV: Study of a Development Project and Its Impact

Total Time: 2 hours

Objectives:

1. To identify assumptions and values about the development process and the negative and positive consequences such assumptions have in the planning and implementation of projects.
2. To identify negative and positive effects of development on women, men, families and communities.
3. To describe program consequences when women, men and communities do not participate or are not considered in the various stages of development programs.
4. To identify strategies for increasing participation of men and women in development projects.

Overview:

Using the case study provided about a development project sponsored by a large private voluntary organization, participants will sharpen their analytical skills regarding development projects. In addition, they will become aware of the numerous unintended consequences of development as well as the short-sighted, but good intentions of development programs. They will also have an opportunity to relate what they learn to their future roles and identify strategies that can be used to avoid some of the problems presented.

Procedures:

Time	Activities
Introduction 5 minutes	1. Introduce goals and rationale of the session. Example: "Through the use of a case study about a development project, we will analyze the consequences, intended and unintended, positive and

negative, that projects have on men, women, families and communities. You will have an opportunity to relate these learnings to your future role in development and to think of ways in which you can avoid some of the problems the case study presents."

Case study
instructions
5 min

2. Distribute the handouts for the case study and the discussion questions. Before instructing participants to read the case study and answer the discussion questions, provide an overview of the case study without discussing it in detail. Also, ask participants to briefly look at the three discussion questions in the handout and clarify any doubts they may have.

Example: "This case study presents a relocation project sponsored by CARE. Though the project is relatively successful, some problems are being confronted. You will be asked to identify some of these problems and suggest strategies for their solution. The discussion questions provided will help you identify these problems and strategies. Are the discussion questions clear?"

Clarify participants questions and instruct them to read the case study and make notes in response to each discussion question in the handout.

Individual
work
20 min

3. Individually, each participant reads the case study and answers the questions.

Subgroups
work
20 min

4. After participants read and answer the questions ask them to form 3 groups of 4-6 participants each. Each subgroup is assigned one of the three discussion questions for a small group discussion. Each group will prepare a summary of their discussion on newsprint to report to the total group. Explain the task as follows:

Task: Discuss your assigned question and report on the major issues and answers discussed in your group. Present a brief report on newsprint and select a presentor.

Question 1: List 5-6 assumptions made by the program planners...
Group A

Question 2: What effects do
you think the project had
on this community?...
Group B

Question 3: What would you do
differently and why...
Group C

[Depending on the number of participants, two groups can be assigned the same discussion question. It is not recommended to have more than two groups per question. (See Trainer note #1 for a large group variation.) In question #2, one subgroup can discuss "community" and "women" and another subgroup can discuss "men" and "families".]

Subgroup report #1 20 min

5. Group reconvenes for small group reports and discussion. Initiate with the group(s) to report on question #1 and give the reporter five minutes to summarize the group's discussion. Help from other group members is acceptable.

Other groups can ask questions and add comments of their own, since all participants have answered all the questions in their initial reading. The Trainer facilitates the discussion by asking additional questions, pointing out key ideas, making generalizations, presenting his/her points of view and generating discussion among the group. A strict reporting format should be avoided; involvement of all participants during the discussion of each question should be promoted.

In order to stimulate the discussion of the main ideas in the case study the Trainer can use the questions presented below to promote further discussion and analysis of the case study by the group. A different set of stimulating questions is provided for each discussion question. These additional questions may be necessary to introduce in cases in which the participants have not considered some of the most important points in the case study. The trainer should also think of his/her own questions and ideas in order to contribute to the group discussion. (Also, see Trainer note #2.)

Discussion stimulators for question #1 are:

- -What were some general assumptions about development work made by the planners?
- -What were some specific assumptions made by the planners about men and women's roles, community needs, others?
- -What do you think were some of the reasons these assumptions were made and acted on?

Possible responses and results of the discussion are:

- -Assumptions must be explicit in order to assess their impact in project planning and implementation.
- -Assumptions can be checked by observing, talking and involving others, especially the recipients, in the planning and implementation process.
- -All persons make assumptions; the importance for development personnel is to identify their assumptions, assess their effects and check them.

Subgroup report #2 20 min

6. Report(s) on question #2 follow the same process as before.

Discussion stimulators for question #2 are:

- -What were some of the negative and positive effects?
- -What were some of the short term and long term effects?
- -How were the effects similar or different for men, families, women, the community?
- -How could negative effects have been prevented or supported by old or new traditions and social systems?

Possible responses and results of the discussion are:

- -Effective planning requires forecasting all possible consequences. If this is done, women and men's roles, traditions, social systems, etc., will be considered as a matter of course in project development.
- -Technological advances and educational opportunities are many times offered to the men; this has a negative impact on women.

- -Economic or educational advances entice men to leave the village or country or their traditional roles in the community, leaving women and children to serve all roles in the village.
- -Men and women both pay a price in the development process. The prices are different but men seem to exert more control over the process at some stages.
- -New traditions and support systems must be built as family and community systems change.
- -Projects often consider short term effects as their main goal, forgetting in many instances to consider and plan for more pervasive long term effects.
- -Projects are often viewed as positive when they achieve technical or economic results, paying less attention to their social and psychological impact.

Subgroup report #3 20 min

7. Report(s) on question #3 follow.

Discussion stimulators for question #3 are:

- -How could information from the community be gathered?
- -What are ways of involving and having community people participate?
- -How could the project increase the options offered to men, women and community in terms of benefits and social change?

Possible responses and results of the discussion are:

- -A way of discovering communities and people's priorities is to observe whether and how they invest their time, work and resources in any particular project or activity.
- -It is important to identify and address people's expectations and needs in relation to a development project before making commitments and assuming their full participation.
- -It is important to establish periodic checking points and feedback mechanisms during the implementation of a project in order to evaluate and alter its course.

Group discussion 15 min

8. Trainer summarizes the past activity by leading a short group discussion. The main purpose of this disucssion is to emphasize how changes introduced with development effect

changes in role patterns, traditions and other important aspects of community, family and individual life which are not always considered in development efforts. (See Trainer note #3 for ideas on how to initiate and conduct this discussion.)

Summary
5 min

9. Closing remarks

Example: "As participants in national or local development we must be able to identify explicitly the assumptions behind a project and assess their impact in our work and the country. We need to assist our co-workers and neighbors to create development projects that meet the needs of all people in the community. We need to be alert to both the results of development processes as well as the way they are implemented.

Materials:

-Case Study handouts
-Discussion questions handouts
-Flipchart for task, activity #4
-Discussion stimulators (optional)
-Flipchart for discussion, activity #8 (optional)
-Trainer notes for case study analysis (optional)

Trainer Notes:

1. A variation for activities #5, 6 and 7 follows. (Reports and discussion of case study questions.) This variation is especially helpful for larger groups. It cuts down the time by as much as 45 minutes and prevents the reports from becoming repetitive and boring. The appropriateness of its use needs to be assessed by each Trainer.

a. Have groups in activity #4 assign 1-3 representatives to report to the larger group.

b. Ask the representatives to participate in the following exercise.

c. Divide the group into two small groups, a smaller group formed by the representatives selected before, and a bigger group formed by the rest of the group. Form an inner circle of chairs for the group of representatives and ask the rest of the group to form an outside circle around the first group.

The outside group will observe as the representatives in the inside group discuss and analyze the case study questions.

Variations to involve the observers or members of the outside group are:

a. Distribute the discussion stimulators among the members of the outside group and ask them to bring up the questions to the members of the inside group.

b. Set one "empty chair" among the inside circle and explain how it will be used before the discussion starts. The "empty chair" is placed in the inside group for members of the outside group to state their positions, concerns and questions as the inside group discusses. The time a member of the outside group is allowed in the "empty chair" is limited to one or two minutes. Members of the inside group are not required to address the point made by the "outside" person immediately, especially if it detracts from their discussion. But they should listen carefully and address the issues brought up by the person in the empty chair at some point during the discussion.

2. Following are identified points to be derived from the analysis of the case study. It is not an exhaustive list, nor should all the points mentioned here be introduced in the discussion. It is to be used as a basis for the trainer to guide and facilitate the group discussion. It also provides additional examples of expected answers from the participants.

A. Assumptions*

Housing

General: Assumptions were made about the design, orientation (the way the houses were facing), materials and location of the houses, evidently without reference to cultural differences of the group being resettled. It was assumed the people would find the houses acceptable.

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*Developed by Maryanne Dulansey, Consultants in Development Inc., Washington, D.C.

Women: Evidently women were not consulted about housing. Their roles as homemaker, as food preparer and as major user of the building were overlooked. It is questionable whether they perceived the "improvement" in their housing as an improvement.

School Construction

General: Possible question about the assumption that the provision of educational facilities will result in an increase in earning potential. If the economic activity of this community is primarily agricultural, and the school curriculum is traditional, there may be no positive impact. There may be a negative impact in that youth will migrate (probably more males) to urban areas to apply their education, removing themselves from the agricultural force (and creating more work for females).

Women: Assumption that women have access to education, that they will be able to attend school. In fact, because of the increase in agricultural work done by women, daughters were kept in the field and not available to attend school. Other constraints may operate to keep females from having access to schooling. Long distances which have to be traveled may prompt parents to question the safety of female children and deny them access to attendance, particularly in cultures which tend to "protect" women.

Water System

General: An assumption is being made that the water delivered by the piping system will be potable. This may or may not be accurate; the Community Health Aides in the case study were teaching people to boil water. Unless there are specifically built-in measures to monitor and guard the quality of the water, potability should be questioned. The sanitary education program is a good step in this direction.

Women: In their role as major users of water for household purposes--cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, bathing the children--it was assumed that women would find it convenient to have water supplied to each cluster of houses. Evidently that was not the case, as women said they preferred a community supply, and went to the river to wash their clothes. In this case, it would have been more culturally relevant (and more cost-beneficial) to pipe water to a central location in the community rather than bringing it closer to the houses. This effect has been noted in a number of places. Women have so much work to do that they have little time to socialize, to learn from their neighbors; they depend on opportunities for coming together in the course of their work, such as drawing water or washing clothes, to fill this need.

Agriculture

General: Assumptions were made about the acceptability of improved agricultural technology which may or may not be true. Resistance to change in methods of culture has been experienced, especially in cases where the traditional staple food crop (such as corn in this case) is involved, and where farmers do not feel they are adequately protected from the risk of failure. Often women have influence on men's attitudes in this area, and if they are not included in information and education activities, the men may not adopt the new technologies.

Women: Assumptions were made about men being responsible for the production of food crops which do not hold true. Women in this case were the ones who grew vegetables for household use and for sale on the local market. Women were also responsible for part of the production of the other crops. Women were often engaged in agriculture tasks such as weeding and harvesting, which require hand labor at certain times in the growing cycle, "peak" periods of intensive work that require many hands. They may also play a major role in sowing and threshing crops, and transporting them from field to home or market.

Another assumption that did not prove to be true concerned the way in which the necessities of the children were provided for. The planners thought in terms of a family, probably a nuclear family, which is our model. They thought of the man as the provider, the head of the household. They thought of the man's earnings as being available for the needs of the children. In many cases this does not hold true. First of all, arrangements for providing for children and for mutual support of adults vary greatly from the Western nuclear family model in many developing countries, so much so that it is almost preferable not to use the word "family". In this case, the women played a significant part in providing for the needs of the children, through growing vegetables and earning supplementary income by selling part of the crop. Women were also responsible for storing the staple grain--corn--and were displaced by the storage system located in the cooperative, which failed to take their role into account.

Integrated Health Services

Women: The planners assumed that women would have time, and be motivated to bring their children of preschool age to the clinic. This was not the way it worked out, evidently because they had too much work. One might raise a question about the assumption that food supplements and immunizations will motivate women to attend the clinic and whether women see family planning as beneficial to them, when they are so conscious of the shortage of hands in the field.

Other assumptions were:

1. People were willing and prepared to work in a cooperative arrangement.
2. People wanted to move and saw the benefits of resettling.
3. The introduction of soybean crops meant the people would change their eating patterns and incorporate soybean foods into their diets.
4. Family planning education directed solely at the woman would result in more effective family planning, without considering the husband's role, attitudes, and influence in this area.

B. Impact or Consequences*

In response to the question on impact, if you think of the community as being composed of men, you will probably respond that the project activities had a beneficial impact on the community, in terms of better living conditions, the ability to own land, access to improved methods of farming, better health care, a chance to go to school, etc.

If you think of how the program affected women, there are a number of adverse consequences. Women have to work longer hours in the fields. Any trade-offs, such as the provision of water near their homes, is, to them, a mixed blessing, at best. The women see the potable water system as depriving them of the little chance they had for seeing each other and chatting, for opportunities to learn from each other. Their responsibilities for providing for the children have been hampered. They have no land for vegetable gardens, and less time to spend on such gardens if land were available.

They have more hard work to do in the field, since more land is now under cultivation. They are doing that work in the same way, since the machines are for use by men, in their jobs, and since women are not included in the agricultural training courses. The cooperative storage takes the staple crop out of their control. Increased income does not necessarily come to women. They are dependent on the good will of their men. The health services are fine, but women have no time for regular attendance. Only when illness strikes do they seek medical help, and then it is usually too late. The preventive aspects of the programs are not utilized. Women may see no sense in limiting the size of their families when they think of children in terms of additional hands needed for work in the fields. And they may, for the same reason, not see any value to sending their daughters to school.

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*Developed by Maryanne Dulansey, Consultants in Development, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Other consequences were:

1. People in the community were becoming more dependent on food supplements.
2. Life styles and roles were being disrupted, without exploring or offering other alternatives.

C. What Would You Do Differently?*

1) Initiation and Leadership. Obviously one of basic problems in this case was that there was little or no opportunity for the settlers, especially the women, to do much about initiating this project. It was a government colonization program. Let us ask whether in redesigning the various components of the program, the people can be involved, and be given an opportunity to make contributions to the design of the program. It would be necessary to get to know the people better, to see all their roles and how they interact, and to look for the leaders within various groups.

2) Participation and Control: The men participate, to some extent, by membership in the cooperative. Could membership be opened to women too? Who makes decisions regarding the allocation of various kinds of resources within the community, such as labor, materials, funds, time? Could this decision-making be shared, and could it include women, especially when they are doing the work, or are prime users (such as in housing, and the domestic water supply)? Who has responsibility for services which are important to the community, such as provision of health care, agricultural inputs, marketing of crops? Do the people, especially the women, share responsibility, and have corresponding rights to influence decision-making? If it is the government, for example the Ministry of Rural Development, which has major control, could citizens be involved, both men and women?

3) Benefits: If the recipients of the benefits of this program (that is, the beneficiaries) have not asked for these goods and services, perhaps

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*Developed by Maryanne Dulansey, Consultants in Development, Inc., Washington, D.C.

we should not make the assumption that they want them. How can we tell? Often programs place people in the position of receiving an offer they can't refuse. Often it is difficult for people to think of alternatives (if not a clinic, what?) Poor people usually have limited resources, but we might be able to discover their priorities if we look at whether and how they invest their time, their work, their materials or goods, their funds in any particular project. (Remember that women invested their time and labor in field work, and in going to the river to wash clothes, for example.) Can we discover ways in which the program can increase women's access to knowledge (e.g. could the agricultural training programs be opened to women?) Could we plan the program so women have better access to the regular educational system? Could we plan the program so that women have access to resources, especially resources they value (e.g. land: in this case, land for women to use for vegetable gardens; e.g. human resources: recall that women valued each other as sources of information; e.g. institutions and organizations; cooperatives, the loan fund, the marketing system, the village council, etc.; e.g. money: recall that although women did work, they were not paid. Rather, men received payment for the crops from the cooperative and often women did not share equitably in those proceeds. How could this be dealt with? If it is not culturally feasible to pay women for their labor in the man's field (it may or may not be), could women have their own cash-producing crops? (This has been tried, and has been successful in various places.)

4) Social Change: Could programs be redesigned so as to increase the choices women might have about what they do? Could, for example, the clinic provide training and employment for women who wanted to become health workers? Could women be extension agents, especially for crops grown primarily by women (such as vegetables in our case)? Could the marketing system be opened up to women? What about maintaining the water supply? Could women serve the community as sanitation engineers? Could they learn to repair pumps? Could they be bookkeepers in the cooperative? Would these functions enhance their role in the community? Would their contributions be valued? Or might the program have other adverse effects on women which could not be prevented (e.g. mechanization for

increasing production displacing women from their jobs)? What might be planned to counteract that adverse effect? (Perhaps food processing projects in which women can earn money.) Or suppose the project reinforces exploitative structures (such as the provision of un- or under-paid agricultural labor). How might we deal with that? (Pay the women if possible; introduce time and labor-saving devices).

5) Process: Too often, development projects hurt more than they help. One of the problems is that the assistance is too short-lived and too inflexible. It does not meet the development needs of the people. Such a consequence may well follow from this project. Once the people are resettled, and the infrastructure is in place, CARE's job is almost complete. Could the project be structured so that, when the participants achieve one objective, they can choose another and work on that (e.g. from housing construction to provision of social services, help in adjusting to new surroundings, etc.)? How could more flexibility be built into the project? (e.g. by getting more feedback more often from the participants, and allowing for changes.) Suppose that the people are really unhappy about the roofing, for example. Can it be changed?

3. Trainer can facilitate the discussion in activity #8 by:

a) Giving some examples of changes which have altered sex role patterns and other systems in the community without addressing the "new unbalance or problem".

i.e. in many cases, introduction of cash crops alters the management of money in the family by shifting money earned to the man and leaving the woman without the money which came out of selling the excess of family garden products in the market.

It has been found that men's money spending pattern is different than the women's. Men tend to spend their money on material goods for themselves or the home while women tend to spend their money on food and clothes for the family.

Also, in many cases, men support more than one family; so even when men are earning more money, the families may receive less money each.

b) Asking participants for examples that illustrate the following points:

1) interlocking or systems nature of sex role patterns in subsistence societies.

2) consequences of altering sex role patterns or introducing changes which alter these patterns without considering their systemic nature, i.e. the existing relationship between smaller families and higher educational levels and the interplay and consequences related to family planning education, traditions, others.

4. The Trainer may want to use a different case study more appropriate to the host country. If this is done, care should be taken to select or develop a case study that can be analyzed in terms of its consequences on women, men, families and community development. It is important that the case study particularly illustrates effects of development on women, whether positive and/or negative, in order to accomplish the goals of the session.

HANDOUT

CASE STUDY*

This is a three-year project which has been in operation two years. It has just been evaluated, and while the implementation is slightly behind schedule, the goals are being met.

Nevertheless, some disturbing information comes to light during the course of a visit to the project site by CARE staff. The Country Director and the Assistant Country Director discuss the matter and determine to find out what happened and how the project can be revised.

Details are contained in the following Project Description and the record of the discussion.

Project Description

In an effort to make more productive use of its resources, the government is relocating people from overpopulated coastal regions to the interior, opening a new area which has been under-populated, and which has great potential for agricultural production. CARE has been invited to participate in the Resettlement and Integrated Rural Development Program being planned and coordinated by the Rural Development Office. Also involved are the Ministries of Education, Health, Agriculture, Public Works and Transportation. In addition, the Department of Cooperatives, the National Nutrition Planning Board and the Provincial Government are involved.

The government has established a village, put in basic roads and cleared the land. It has relocated landless peasants from the coastal areas and promises to deliver housing, potable water, land and other agricultural inputs such as tools, equipment, seeds, fertilizer, training and extension services, a school and health facilities. A production and marketing cooperative will be established, with credit facilities attached.

About 2,000 people/400 families are participating in the program in this phase. They are ethnically homogeneous, but are of a different group than the people which inhabit the region. However, there are no other settlements nearby the new village.

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*Developed by Maryanne Dulansey, Consultants in Development, Inc., Washington, D.C.

Water System

CARE will work with the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation to provide the village with water for household use. The project may be expanded to include irrigation systems after the initial phase of three years. CARE will provide the construction materials, technical assistance, and supervision, as well as food commodities for Food for Work. The community will provide the unskilled labor. The Ministry will supply the plans.

Another component of the project will be a sanitary education program to educate users on the relationship and importance of clean water to good health, the prevention of water-borne diseases, and the need for proper handling and disciplined water consumption. The Ministry of Health will supply two Community Health Aides to undertake the program.

Goals

Provide constant, readily-available supply of potable water to 400 families in the village.

Reduce incidence of water-borne diseases in the village.

Agriculture

The main economic activity of the settlers is agriculture. New crops such as soybeans will be introduced, as the land is especially well suited to such cultivation. A five-hectare plot of land will be given to each farmer, together with seeds, fertilizer, and tools. Short training courses will be held, and the Ministry of Agriculture will station extension agents in the area. It is expected that production will be very high, due to the fertility of the soil, the favorable climatic conditions, and the potential for multiple cropping, in addition to the improved technology which will be introduced. While the farmers will own their own plot of land, they will work cooperatively, in order to share equipment for land clearing and ploughing.

The Agricultural Marketing Board of the Ministry of Agriculture will market the soybeans; the Farmers' Cooperative will provide storage for corn and beans for local consumption, and will sell the surplus through the Marketing Board.

CARE will provide seeds, tools and technical assistance to the Ministry of Agriculture, and give training courses for the officers and staff of the Farmers' Cooperative in bookkeeping and office management.

Goals

Improve the standard of living of small scale farmers and their families by increasing agricultural production.

Integrated Health Services

CARE will provide take-home food supplements and medical services to the pre-school aged children of mothers enrolled in the program. At the health clinic (which has already been built by the Provincial Government) information regarding improved nutrition, child care and health practices as well as health services and family planning advice will be made available to 400 mothers. Their children will be recipients of free health care including deworming, immunizations against BCG, malaria, and smallpox. CARE will provide the food commodities and will develop the materials required for education and maintenance of the program, as well as the training for the Ministry of Health Community Health Aides assigned to the program.

Goals

Improve the nutritional and health status of pre-school children by providing food supplements and health care for the children and by improving the health care practices of mothers.

Promote participation in family planning program.

Staff Discussion

On a visit to the site of the Resettlement and Integrated Rural Development Program, the Assistant Country Director discovered that, although the evaluation of the program at the end of two years showed progress toward attainment of the goals, the project seemed to be having some adverse effects.

One of the problems had to do with the agricultural component. In the course of watching people work in the field, the CARE staff person noticed that they were women, and began to speak with them, learning that the arrangement of 5 hectare family plots was not satisfactory. Since the government was encouraging the growing of cash crops--soybeans--most of the farmers grew barely enough corn and beans--their traditional diet--for consumption. The settlement scheme does not provide for kitchen gardens, which the women traditionally kept for the raising of vegetables for family consumption and for the local market. The women had formerly been in charge of growing the food for the family, with the exception of the corn. However, that arrangement had been changed by the delivery of the agricultural inputs and services to the men in the resettlement program. The proceeds from marketing the crops were retained by the men. No wages were paid to the women, although they spent the greater part of the day working in the fields, especially during planting and harvesting times. Because more land was put under cultivation, the work load of the women was increased. Mechanization was provided for the clearing and ploughing portions but not the planting, weeding and harvesting.

Because of the demand for increased labor in the types of work traditionally done by women, mothers were keeping their daughters from school so they could help them in the field.

Men were primarily engaged in construction projects, and spent even less time in the fields than they otherwise might have. They also participated in training courses and received the loans from the Farmers' Cooperative for purchase of improved seed and fertilizer.

Great dissatisfaction was expressed with the way in which the houses were being built. The women did not like the improved type of roof; they preferred the cooking arrangements to be outside the house; and they said the houses were "facing the wrong way."

In spite of good attendance rates at the clinic, it was noticed that the mothers were sending the preschool children with older children in order to get the food supplement. The mothers were not, however, receiving the nutrition, sanitation, and child care education.

The Community Health Aides who were charged with educating people about the proper use of water discovered that the women preferred to have a community supply rather than have water piped to each four-house cluster. They still used the river for washing clothes, in spite of having water near their houses.

Women refused to boil the water, complaining that it would require more fuel to be gathered, for which they had no time. Besides, they said, if the water came from a pipe, it must be good.

The food storage program run by the Farmers' Cooperative was operating successfully. It was one way of controlling the production of food, and gathering statistics. Food waste was also sharply reduced, because fumigants were used, and good silo construction prevented rodent depredation. The women, though, did not "trust" the cooperative, and would keep supplies of food out of the harvest for home storage, as they had been accustomed to do.

The staff discussed these findings, and came to the conclusion that these situations had occurred because the planners failed to take into account the different roles which men and women played in the community. Although some of the goals of the projects were being met, the projects seemed to be having some adverse effects on development.

They attempted to list the erroneous assumptions made in the planning stages, discover what was actually happening, and redesign the projects so they would have better overall effect, and better impact. To do this, they worked with some of the government people involved in planning and implementation.

Please turn to Questions for Discussion, and, based on this Case Study, note your reactions and ideas.

HANDOUT

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. List 5-6 assumptions made by the program planners. Consider each project activity: housing, school construction, water system, agriculture, health services, and others you see. Were they accurate or erroneous? What was the effect of these assumptions in the project as it was planned and implemented?

Assumptions	Effects or Consequences

2. What effects do you think the project had on this community? Women? Men? Families? Think of each project area and other effects you might see.

Project Activity	Effect on..			
	Community	Women	Men	Families
Agriculture				
Health Services				
Water				
Housing				
Others				

3. What would you do differently in the planning process? Why? What would you do differently in the implementation process? Why?

Planning	Reasons	Implementation	Reasons

III. The Adverse Impact of Development on Women

From: Women and World Development,
by Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramsen, ed.,
Overseas Development Council, USA, 1976

Irene Tinker

During much of the last quarter century, "development" has been viewed as the panacea for the economic ills of all less developed countries: create a modern infrastructure and the economy will take off, providing a better life for everyone. Yet in virtually all countries and among all classes, women have lost ground relative to men; development, by widening the gap between incomes of men and women, has not helped improve women's lives, but rather has had an adverse effect upon them.

The major reason for this deplorable phenomenon is that planners, generally men—whether in donor-country agencies or in recipient countries—have been unable to deal with the fact that women must perform two roles in society, whereas men perform only one. In subsistence societies, it is understood that women bear children and at the same time carry out economic activities that are essential to the family unit. Western industrial societies have chosen to celebrate the child-bearing role, glorifying motherhood while downgrading the economic functions attached to child bearing and household care, and erecting barriers to paid work for women. Accepting this stereotype of women's roles, economic theorists in the West imbued their students, indigenous and foreign, with the cliché that "women's place is in the home," classifying them forever as economically dependent. In doing so, they followed the unequivocal depiction of women in the law as legally dependent minors. Small wonder that the spread of Western "civilization," with its view of woman as "child-mother," has had an adverse impact on the more sexually equal subsistence societies. Communist doctrine errs in the opposite direction: women are economic units first, mothers second. Since children interfere with work, the government provides day care; but little has been done in the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe to encourage men to share the responsibilities of children and home. This leaves women two time-consuming jobs: full-time work plus daily shopping, cooking, cleaning, and care of the children in the evening. Not surprisingly, the result is a drastic fall in birthrates throughout Eastern Europe—accompanied (at least in the Soviet Union) by evidence of increased marital instability and a high incidence of alcoholism among men. Yet even in these societies, where doctrine asserts that women and men are supposed to be economic equals, employment data show that women hold the least prestigious jobs.[1] It may be that in these countries also, men "subtract" a woman's home and child-care responsibilities from her ability to hold down important positions. Whatever the explanation, it would seem women lose twice.

Development planners must begin to recognize women's dual roles and stop using mythical stereotypes as a base for their development plans. A first step is to recognize the actual economic contributions of women. Even this is difficult. Statistics, the "holy building blocks" of developers, are made of the same mythical assumptions: a) "work" is performed for *money*, and b) "work" is located only in the *modern* sector. Thus the U.S. Department of Labor can issue a statement saying that in Africa only 5 per cent of the women work![2] This clearly is an absurd assertion about a continent where women are reported to be doing 60-80 per cent of the work in the fields and working up to 16 hours a day during the planting season.[3] The "explanation" for the 5 per cent figure is that agricultural work done by family members is not recorded as "work." Nor are exchange labor, household work, child care, or many activities in the tertiary or informal sector counted as work. And since statistics do not show women working, planners do not plan for women to work. Too often new projects actually intrude on activities in which women already are engaged; but instead of providing services or training to women, assumptions about proper sex roles dictate that *men* receive the new training, new seeds, or new loans. The gap widens.

Unfortunately, this phenomenon of increased dependency of women on men is not new. The pattern has been repeated time and time again, whenever a given society developed beyond sheer subsistence and created a civilization which required functional specialization. Documenting the erosion of women's position in ancient Greece and Rome, for example, Evelyne Sullerot has observed that "as a rule it is in the early periods of each civilization that the least difference exists between the position of men and that of women. As a civilization asserts and refines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens."[4] May Ebihara has noted similar "reductions" of women's status in Southeast Asia's past. She points out that a Chinese visitor to the Khmer empire in Angkor in the thirteenth century recorded that women held many positions in the court; yet within a century, due to the spread of Chinese influence after the fall of the Khmer empire, women were reduced to being legal minors of their husbands.[5]

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[1] Barbara W. Jancar, "Women Under Communism," in Jane S. Jaquette, ed., *Women in Politics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), pp. 217-42.

[2] U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, "International Protection of Human Rights" (hearings August-December 1973), 93rd Congress, p. 444.

[3] U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, Women's Programme Unit, "The Integration of Women in African Development," paper prepared for the 14th Conference of the Society for International Development, Abidjan, Ivory Coast, 1974.

[4] Evelyne Sullerot, *Women, Society, and Change* (New York: McGraw-Hill, World University Library, 1971), p. 19.

[5] May Ebihara, "Khmer Village Women in Cambodia," in Carolyn S. Matthiasson, ed., *Many Sisters: Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (New York: The Free Press, 1974), pp. 305-48.

Historically, these bureaucratic states produced a stratified society with the higher classes living in towns. It seemed to follow inevitably that women, separated from their essential food production functions, became more dependent upon men, especially as upper-class men commanded large incomes and generally adopted a more ostentatious style of living. Women lost their economic base and came to be valued mainly for their female attributes of child bearing and providing sexual gratification. Thus they increasingly came to be "protected" or "confined"—perceived as "jewels" for men to play with or as vehicles for perpetuating the family line. However, they were then also perceived—accurately—as *economic liabilities.* In subsistence societies, where women are a valuable economic commodity, a man pays a bride price to the bride's father to buy her services; in societies where women have lost their economic function, the exchange of money is reversed, and the bride's family pays the groom to accept her.

Recent studies recording women's roles in subsistence economies show a panoply of traditional roles, both economic and familial, whose patterns more often add up to near serfdom than to any significant degree of independence and personal dignity for women. Yet these studies show that, however onerous women's lives, development plans have seldom helped them. Rather, development has tended to put obstacles in women's way that frequently prevent them even from maintaining what little economic independence they do have. Laws and customs designed to protect women also can cause hardship. Even education can widen the gap between men and women. This is not to say that development never helps women; the case being made is that, *compared to men,* women almost universally have lost as development has proceeded. If economic planners would only look at recent (and long-standing) anthropological evidence, they hopefully would recognize that women's productive contributions to the economy have been and can continue to be important, and perhaps would begin to plan projects which not only support women's work but also open up opportunities for women to become part of the modern economic system. With this objective in mind, this paper will now review the existing evidence which shows how development has negatively affected the productivity of women in different areas of life.

Change of Subsistence Economies

In subsistence economies every family member traditionally is assigned roles which are essential to the survival of the unit, whether that unit is a small "nuclear" family or an extended one. Men as well as women have dual functions: family roles are integrated with economic roles. While in any given society these roles generally are sex-specific, they vary from culture to culture. Almost everywhere change has meant a diminution of men's roles in caring for and training children or assisting in household tasks. Since development is primarily concerned with economic activity, and since it is women's traditional economic role that has been ignored, we shall focus on this function and how it has changed for both men and women.

Ester Boserup—in her landmark book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*—has linked the variation of sex roles in farming to different types of agriculture. In subsistence farming where land is plentiful, a slash-and-burn technique is the typical agricultural style; generally men clear the land and women do the bulk of the farming. This agricultural technique is still predominant in Africa but is also found in many parts of Asia and Central and South America. When population increase limits land availability, draft animals are brought in to increase productivity through the use of the plough.

> And the advent of the plough usually entails a radical shift in sex roles in agriculture; men take over the ploughing even in regions where the hoeing had formerly been women's work. At the same time, the amount of weeding to be done by the women may decline on land ploughed before sowing and planting, and either men or women may get a new job of collecting feed for the animals and feeding them.[6]

As population pressure on land increases further, more labor-intensive crops are introduced and grown year-round in irrigated fields. Women are drawn back into the fields—to plant, weed, and harvest alongside the men.

In addition to their important role in farming, women in subsistence economies traditionally have engaged in a variety of other economic activities—spinning fibers, weaving cloth, drawing water, tending market gardens, and processing and preserving foods gathered from communal property. Women in Southeast Asia boil palm sugar. West African women brew beer. Women in parts of Mexico and elsewhere make pottery. Women in most countries weave cloth and make clothes. Women in most cultures sell their surplus food in local markets. Profits from these activities generally belong to the women themselves. Thus women in many parts of the world have become known for their astuteness in the marketplace. Javanese women have a reputation for being thrifty, while Javanese men consider themselves incapable of handling money wisely. In Nicaragua, women continue to dominate the traditional marketplace, which caters to the lower classes, despite the availability of modern supermarkets nearby.[7] Market women of West Africa have parlayed their economic strength into political power as well. In contrast, Hindu and Arab women seldom are seen in the markets as buyers and never as sellers. But these women come from societies that have long been bureaucratized and in which women have lost some of their earlier economic independence.

Erosion of the role that women played in subsistence economies began under colonial rule. Policies aimed at improving or modernizing the farming systems, particularly the introduction of the concept of private property and the encouragement of cash crops, favored men. Under tribal custom, women who were farmers had users' rights to land. Colonial regimes, past and recent, seldom have felt comfortable with customary communal land-tenure rights and have tended to convert land to private ownership—in some cultures thereby dispossessing the women, in disregard of local tradition, by recognizing men as the new owners. This was as true of the Chinese in Southeast Asia and the Spanish in

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[6] Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1970), p. 33.

[7] Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family* (New York: The Free Press, 1961); and Margaret Hagen, "Notes on the Public Markets and Marketing System of Managua, Nicaragua" (Managua: Instituto Centroamericano de Administracion de Empresas, 1974).

Latin America as it was of the Europeans in Asia and Africa. Thus women still farmed the land but no longer owned it and therefore became dependent on their fathers or their brothers. Wherever colonial governments introduced cash crops, these were considered to be men's work. Much of the agricultural development was focused on improving these crops. To encourage the men to take jobs on plantations or to grow cash crops on their own land, governments frequently introduced taxes—thereby forcing men (who were more mobile) into the modern money economy, while women (with child-rearing responsibilities) remained in rural areas and hence in the subsistence economy. Their lack of access to money and loss of control of land left women with little incentive to improve either crops or the land in areas where they continued to dominate the farming system. Furthermore, access to the modern sector, whether in agriculture or industry, has drawn men away from their households and often even from their land, and thus has given women additional tasks that formerly were men's work. Not surprisingly, productivity has declined as "development" has proceeded.

Efforts to reverse this trend have been undertaken by development agencies, but their stereotypes concerning the sex of the farmer often have led to ridiculous results. In 1974 Liberia decided to try to encourage wet-rice cultivation and brought to the country a team of Taiwanese farmers. To assure attendance at the demonstration planting, the government offered wages to the observers. Many unemployed men participated in the experiment while the women continued their work in the fields. Throughout Africa, rural extension services, modeled on those in the United States, have been staffed and attended by men only; custom prevented rural women from attending courses taught by men, and the courses taught by women—mainly home economics courses on canning and sewing—were irrelevant to their needs. Cooperatives, too, tended to assume that farmers were males. Thus the men had access to credit or to improved seeds which they used to produce cash crops; women in the subsistence sector were barred from membership as well as from growing cash crops.

Perhaps because the economic position of women in Africa was deteriorating so quickly, active opposition to this trend started there. Nigerian women formed all-female cooperatives and demanded credit to buy more efficient oil pressers to use in processing palm-oil nuts. Under pressure from women's groups, the government of Kenya reinterpreted the cooperative regulations to allow membership to women, and then formed a special task force to show women how to utilize this new opportunity. Zambian women were taught how to grow onions as a cash crop, in between rows of the usual subsistence crops. They were so successful that men demanded similar assistance; this venture turned sour when the women refused to tend the men's onions, claiming it was not a traditional obligation! In Tanzania the government is encouraging the establishment of Ujamaa villages, where land is held communally and workers are paid according to their efforts; in these villages, women for the first time are bieng paid for growing subsistence crops. Marjorie Mbilinyi writes that "it is therefore not surprising that women are the most ardent supporters of socialist rural policies in many areas of Tanzania."[8]

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[8] Marjorie J. Mbilinyi, "Barriers to the Full Participation of Women in the Socialist Transformation of Tanzania," paper presented at the Conference on the Role of Rural Women in Development, sponsored by the Agricultural Development Council, Princeton, New Jersey, 1974.

The ways in which development agencies have introduced new technologies likewise have tended to contribute to the undermining of women's traditional roles. Small implements such as presses, grinders, or cutters generally have been introduced to men, even when the work for which they are a substitute traditionally has been done by women. The availability of corn grinders in Kenya, for example, clearly saves women many hours of manual effort—though they also spend hours going to the grinding center. But why are women themselves not taught to operate these grinders? Oil presses in Nigeria, tortilla-making machines in Mexico, and sago-processing machines in Sarawak also are purchased and operated by men—because only men have access to credit or to money.[9] Stereotypes that women cannot manage technology are reinforced by the fact that illiteracy is more widespread among women, who therefore cannot read instructions.

Agricultural technology has produced the "green revolution" and has altered traditional agricultural practices. The high capitalization involved in buying improved seed varieties and fertilizers has pressured farmers into more efficient harvesting arrangements which often utilize fewer laborers and increase unemployment. Planners know this and often have tried to create alternative employment for the displaced *men*. But, in most economies that rely on wet-rice cultivation, it is the women who do the harvesting. A detailed study on Central Java, for example, noted that the women formerly accepted low wages for planting in order to receive payment in rice itself for harvesting work. Today the harvesting is done by mobile teams of men using the more efficient scythe; women, who harvested with a hand knife, have lost their rights to harvest and have not yet been able to obtain higher wages for planting.[10]

Improved transportation systems have affected traditional markets in both positive and negative ways. In Mexico, for example, improved transport has increased demand for locally made ceramic animal figures, thereby increasing rural earnings. It has made manufactured fabrics available in even the smallest towns, enabling women to make clothing without having to weave the cloth. Moreover, travel to markets in town has eased the drudgery of women's lives in rural areas.[11] On the other hand, improved transport has made many traditional occupations redundant. It has opened new markets for manufactured goods that compete with local, hand-made artifacts. Traders from more distant towns are taking over local markets, undercutting the traditional suppliers: women traders from outlying villages. In Java, the importation of Coca-Cola and Australian ice cream ruined local soft drink manufacture and ice cream production; both enterprises had been dominated by women. Sago processing by women in Sarawak was replaced by machine processing run by Chinese men. Men's enterprises also have suffered from competition with national or international firms. A study of governmental policies in Zaria, Nigeria, showed that small businesses run by men suffered from the lack of basic services—particularly water, light, and credit—and that this prevented their expansion; in contrast, two large local factories, producing tobacco and textiles, were fostered by governmental policy.[12] Planners usually are aware of and try to ease the demise of small businesses in the wake of modern industrialization. What they have forgotten, however, is the sex of the entrepreneurs—and hence have attempted to provide alternative employment for *men only*.

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[9] Charlotte Stolmaker, "Examples of Stability and Change from Santa Maria Atzompa," paper presented at the Southwestern Anthropological Association Meeting, Tucson, Arizona, 1971; and Barbara E. Ward, "Women and Technology in Developing Countries," *Impact of Science on Society*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1970). Describing the adverse effects of technology, Beverl[illegible]hinas observes: "Modern technology imported by foreigners brings with it a preference for male employees." (Beverly Chinas, "La participación femenina en el sistema educacional Venezolano," Documento tecnico 2 (Caracas: Centro de Estudios Sociales con la Cooperación de AITEC, 1975).

[10] Ann Stoler, "Land, Labor and Female Autonomy in a Javanese Village," unpublished manuscript, 1975.

[11] Stolmaker, "Examples of Stability," op. cit., p. 23; and Ward, "Women and Technology," op. cit., p. 96.

Change in the Modern Sector and Women's Education

The elite character of all education as well as its bias in favor of men everywhere in the world means that rural women seldom are literate—a fact that inhibits their ability to move into new sectors when their traditional economic roles are superseded. Furthermore, according to the most recent UNESCO figures, the disparity between male and female illiteracy is growing. In Africa (where illiteracy is extremely high among both sexes), nine out of ten women still are illiterate. In Asia, female illiteracy rates range from 87 per cent in India to 52 per cent in Hong Kong; and even in Hong Kong, women are five times more likely to be illiterate than men. Generally, the higher the level of education, the lower the female enrollment. In Africa, some 20-30 per cent of female children attend primary school, but only 10-20 per cent of the secondary-school children are girls.[13] In South Asia, of the 2.5 per cent of the adult population that continues in school beyond the age of fourteen, about one fifth are women. In Latin America, in contrast, where the percentage of adults who receive higher education varies from 2 per cent to 10 per cent, nearly half the students enrolled in higher-education institutions are women.[14] However, these few highly educated women remain limited in their options by the widely held belief that men and women have separate "proper spheres" in professional and public life.

In traditional rural pursuits, the lack of education was a relatively less serious problem. But that is changing as the modern sector invades the traditional sphere. Women in the markets, for example, are at a disadvantage because of their illiteracy and lack of knowledge of modern packaging techniques. The lack of education limits women's options even more severely when they migrate to the city. When they move with their husbands, they may be able to continue household crafts or petty trading. But trading on a small scale takes place within an established circle of customers; frequent moving can destroy a business. In some businesses, such as tailoring, women compete with men who have easier access to credit and therefore can provide a wider variety of fabrics. Lack of education is a handicap to these women. Dorothy Remy, who has studied the economic activity of women in Nigeria, has commented that "without exception, the women in my sample who had been able to earn a substantial independent income had attended primary school. All of these women had learned to read, write, and speak some English."[15]

While married women find their economic independence severely limited in the towns of the less developed world, they at least have husbands to support them; life for unmarried women is more difficult. Surveys conducted in Dahomey indicated that from 25-30 per cent of women living in towns were on their own.[16] In Latin America young women migrate into cities in larger numbers than men, and some seek employment in domestic service or as shop assistants; more often, however, prostitution is mentioned as the primary means of subsistence. Other women fit into the uncounted interstices of the economy. They buy a pack of cigarettes and sell them one at a time. They cook food and hawk it on the street. Although male migrants, too, engage in this informal sector, they usually progress into the "modern sector," where they are included in employment statistics. For the most part, however, women continue to work at marginal jobs and remain uncounted, since these economic activities do not enter into that mythical standard, the "gross national product."

All this is not to say that education has not opened up some new occupations for women, particularly for middle- and upper-class women. Since most of the early education systems in colonial countries were run by missionaries who placed a high value on education regardless of sex, girls have had some access to schools. In many countries, nursing and teaching are considered respectable female occupations. In fact, there are more opportunities for women as teachers, nurses, and doctors in societies where sex segregation continues and men are limited in their contact with women than there are in less traditional societies.[17] As sex segregation is relaxed, however, making this "market" for female professional employment less exclusive, the number of women employed in these fields declines—providing yet another example of the negative impact of development on women.

In those areas of Southeast Asia and West Africa where trading traditionally has been the women's preserve, many educated women have retained their entrepreneurial role, adjusting successfully to modern market conditions. In Ghana, the major marmalade manufacturer is a woman. The strength of organized market women in Guinea and Nigeria has given them influence in affecting government decisions. In Jakarta, the wives of the higher-grade civil servants run shops and make jewelry. In Thailand, several large hotels are owned and run by women. In the Philippines, women are adept as real estate agents, stockbrokers, and business managers; the fact that more Philippine women than men have attended private schools is a clear indicator of the value placed in that country on the ability of women to learn and to earn.[18]

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[12] Dorothy Remy and John Weeks, "Employment, Occupation and Inequality in a Non-Industrialized City," in K. Wohlmuth, ed., *Employment in Emerging Societies* (New York: Praeger, 1973).

[13] Kenneth Little, *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 30.

[14] Boserup, *Woman's Role*, op. cit., p. 121.

[15] Dorothy Remy, "Underdevelopment and the Experience of Women: A Zaria Case Study," in Rayna Reiter, ed., *Towards an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

[16] Margarita Dobert, "The Changing Status of Women in French Speaking Africa; Two Examples: Dahomey and Guinea," unpublished manuscript, 1974.

[17] Boserup, *Woman's Role*, op. cit.

Only in crisis situations, however, are women generally permitted by society to engage in economic activities that otherwise remain closed to them. In Vietnam, for example, women were forced to support their families through years of war. Marilyn Hoskins has pointed out that women in Vietnam traditionally have been pivotal in the family; thus any activity that ensures the family's continuity or aids in its comfort is socially acceptable.[19] Undoubtedly aiding in this acceptance are the many folk tales which portray Vietnamese women as heroines in the days before Chinese and French colonialism. A similar ability of women to respond to modern demands (more quickly than their husbands) is found today among the Yemenite migrants into Israel. Yemenite men, more circumscribed than women by carefully delimited roles, have difficulty adapting to their new surroundings, while the women, expected to see to the needs of their families, have moved into the modern economic sector and in many cases have become the major income producers in their families.[20]

Thus education has only partly countered the historic phenomenon typical of the earlier bureaucratic as well as the later industrial societies—assigning of women to the home. Those women who succeeded in obtaining a higher education during the colonial period usually could find jobs as easily as men, both because of the dearth of trained nationals and because the society itself was in a state of political and economic transition. An important factor enabling these women to participate was the existence of a supportive family structure in which kin and servants took over some of the women's household tasks and family responsibilities. Thus women played a prominent part in many nationalist struggles in Asia and Africa and were rewarded with high governmental positions in newly independent countries. The three current women prime ministers—of India, Sri Lanka, and the Central African Republic—have personal histories of political activity. In Latin America, women have entered such demanding occupations as law, medicine, and dentistry in larger numbers than in the United States.[21]

Today, unfortunately, the situation is changing. *Fewer* women are in parliaments or political parties than during the early days of independence; professional women in many countries are beginning to have difficulty finding good jobs. These setbacks mirror those experienced by women in the United States, where a higher percentage of women received doctoral degrees between 1910 and 1920 than at any time since, and where more women held professional and technical jobs in the 1930s than do now. Several explanations have been offered for such trends. First, as educational opportunities increase, more middle-class children attend college; and daughters of the middle class usually are more restricted by their families' sense of propriety than are the daughters of upper-class families. Second, the entry of large numbers of men into the ranks of job seekers—particularly middle-class men who feel women should stay home—increases employment competition and decreases women's chances. Third, the governments in many newly independent countries have become more and more dominated by the military; while professional women sometimes do obtain high-level jobs in the bureaucracy, virtually nowhere do they do so in the military.

Non-working women—whether educated or not—become more dependent on their husbands than those who have an income. While a dependent woman may have more status in the eyes of her friends because of her husband's job, many women resent the increased authoritarianism which tends to flow from dependency. Joseph Gugler writes about how such resentment has led to the radicalization of women in West Africa.[22] At the same time, however, *release* from the drudgery of farm labor makes dependency and even seclusion acceptable to women in many parts of Asia and Africa. While Western women look upon seclusion, or purdah, as an extreme form of backwardness, many lower-class women in the old bureaucratic societies perceive it as an improvement of status—an imitation of the upper classes. This process of changing life styles to emulate the class above has long been observed between castes in the Hindu hierarchy, where it is termed "Sanskritization." A study of purdah in Bangladesh indicates it has increased since independence from Great Britain.[23] In northern Nigeria, the attitude of Hausa women toward seclusion is influenced by religion and culture. Farming is carried on by Hausa women of the animist sect who cherish their freedom of movement and ridicule the secluded Hausa Moslem women, who, on the other hand, appear to prefer to be kept in seclusion on the grounds that it reduces their work load and raises their prestige. Nonetheless, it has been noted that seclusion has the effect of separating the sexes and increasing the hostility of women toward men; this hostility creates a kind of female solidarity that is not channeled into activism but is expressed, for example, in ribald singing. Among the animist Hausa, "women play an obvious economic role, one that is recognized by the men." The result is social solidarity rather than sex division.[24]

Such increasing hostility between men and women may be responsible for the amazing rise in households headed by women. Around the world today, one out of three households is headed, de facto, by a woman. In the United States the figure is just under 20 per cent, but in parts of Latin America it is as high as 50 per cent; in Africa the end of legal polygamy has resulted in second wives being considered unmarried. The number of women-headed households is also growing in Asia, because the customary protection afforded divorced women and widows by family practices imbedded in traditional religions is breaking down. Migration patterns—a function of economic opportunity—also have led to an increase in women-headed households. In Africa the men migrate to mines, plantations, or cities. The 1969 Kenya census indicates that one third of rural households are headed by women; Lesotho estimates are even higher. In Latin America, in contrast, it is the women who migrate first, often living in urban squatter settlements and raising the children by themselves. Whatever the reason, planners persist in the stereotype of the family as headed by a man; this concept reinforces the idea that only men engage in economic activity and leads to unfair planning.

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[18] Justin J. Green, "Philippine Women: Towards a Social Structural Theory of Female Status," paper prepared for the Southwest Conference of the Association for Asian Studies, Denton, Texas, 1973.

[19] Marilyn Hoskins, "Vietnamese Women in a Changing Society: Their Roles and Their Options," unpublished manuscript, 1973.

[20] Yael Katzir, "Israeli Women in Development: The Case of Yemenite Jews in a Moshav," paper prepared for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development, Mexico City, Mexico, 1975.

[21] Nora Scott Kinzer, "Destroying the Myth: The Porteña Professional," in Ruby R. Leavitt, ed., *Women Cross-Culturally: Change and Challenge* (The Hague: Mouton Press, 1975).

[22] Joseph Gugler, "The Second Sex in Town," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 289-302.

[23] Hanna Papanek, "Purdah: Separate Worlds and Symbolic Shelter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1973), pp. 289-325.

[24] Jerome H. Barkow, "Hausa Women and Islam," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972), pp. 317-28.

Modern laws and customs help create these women-headed households. Most countries in Africa have adopted laws making monogamy the only legal form of marriage. Second wives, who of course continue to exist, become "mistresses" and lose the protection that was accorded them under customary law. While Westernized African women argue in favor of the necessity for monogamy, many market women indicate a preference for polygamy. A survey conducted in the Ivory Coast in the 1960s showed that 85 per cent of the women came out in favor of polygamy! According to Margarita Dobert, the women believe that "in a monogamous marriage power accrues to the man as head of the household whereas formerly both men and women had to defer to the head of the lineage." Furthermore, co-wives shared the burden of household work and cooking; one woman could go off to trade while another stayed at home to carry out household tasks.[25]

Western law underscores women's major role as child rearing, treating women as dependents as far as property is concerned and generally awarding them custody of children in divorce. Thus modernization takes away women's economic roles while at the same time giving them the burden of paying for raising their children. Older religions such as Christianity and Hinduism avoided this problem by forbidding divorce; Islam and African animism allowed divorce but required men to assume the obligations of raising the children. By absolving men of the responsibility of caring for their children in case of divorce, recent legislation in Kenya has placed an oppressive burden on divorced Kenyan women.[26]

Women-headed households are also increasing in the Soviet Union. There the women are integrated into the economy, albeit at lower-level jobs, but their husbands are not sharing in household and family tasks. Women are rejecting not only marriage but also child bearing. It was interesting to hear Romanian officials at the U.N. Population Conference in Bucharest in August 1974 observe that concern over the falling birthrates in their country actually might have the effect of urging men to help more with the housework!

There is no clear relationship between family type and women's ability to work. Women-headed households generally are relatively poorer. In most countries, the women lack education and are forced to earn money in marginal jobs within or outside the modern sector. In the United States, divorced women generally must adapt to a standard of living cut by nearly a half; the majority tend to find jobs on the low end of the employment scale and receive inadequate child-support payments. At one time it was thought that the nuclear family would be the prototype of the modern world. Women in the United States now complain of the restrictions of the nuclear family, at least where the partners are not equal. Yet several observers of Asian women have argued that the nuclear family is the primary liberating force from the patriarchal dominance of the extended family. Latin American observers on the other hand, have suggested that the kin network that typifies traditional extended families actually allows for more equality of women because of the shared obligations and duties within the family.

In China, the traditional extended-family pattern has been the target of much criticism by the government, undoubtedly because that form has been so intertwined with the elitist bureaucratic form of government. All levels of society now are required to share the drudgery of hard labor; college students and party functionaries in particular are required to work periodically on farms or on massive public works projects. Government publications suggest that the ideal of equality has been achieved, but typically the military and bureaucratic leaders are almost entirely men.[27] Even the most influential Chinese woman today—Chiang Ching, wife of Mao Tse-tung—operates on the periphery.[28] Recent visitors to China have been impressed by efforts to achieve female equality. Nonetheless, even the Chinese delegates to the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women admit that the men in the outlying areas of the country have not yet understood that women are to be treated as equals.

Conclusion

In subsistence economies, the process of development has tended to restrict the economic independence of women as their traditional jobs have been challenged by new methods and technologies. Because Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations for women tend to be exported with aid, modernization continually increases the gap between women's and men's ability to cope with the modern world. Elites in these countries are imbued with middle-class Western values relegating women to a subordinate place—values often transmitted by the industrial world's bureaucratic systems, which frequently reinforce such stereotypes in their own societies.

In the developed, "modern" world, women continue to experience restricted economic opportunities while at the same time finding increased family obligations thrust upon them. The strange contrast of this reality with the Western ideal of "equality for all" increasingly has made women aware of this injustice. Instead of docilely accepting their fate, women are becoming increasingly hostile, leaving marriage behind, and taking on the dual functions of work and family without the added burden of husband. A redress is overdue. Planners must not only consider and support women's economic activities but must also find ways of mitigating the drudgery of housework and the responsibility of child rearing. The roles assigned each sex must again be made more equal—with men as well as women accepting their dual functions of work and family.

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[25] Dobert, "The Changing Status of Women," op. cit., p. 7.

[26] Audrey Wipper, "The Roles of African Women: Past, Present and Future," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1972).

[27] Joyce K. Kallgren, "Enhancing the Role of Women in Developing Countries," prepared for the U.S. Agency for International Development, 1973, mimeo.

[28] Rozne Witke, "Women in the People's Republic of China," speech presented before the Wingspread Conference on American Perspectives, Racine, Wisconsin, June 25, 1974.

For a time after World War II, there was great optimism about the ability of the world to proceed apace with economic development. Today there is a growing realization that development is a more elusive concept than had been previously thought. Even where countries are able to boast of a rising gross national product in the face of population growth, it is recognized that Western-style development approaches of the past have tended to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, both within countries and among countries. Not only women but the poor generally have been left out.

Not surprisingly, many economists are looking for alternative paths to development, and are showing an increasing interest in the experiences of such non-Western countries as the Soviet Union and China. In their impact on women, however, these non-Western models also are inadequate; in a sense they err twice, for while women's nurturing roles are deemphasized in favor of their economic roles, women continue to have access only to the less important economic and political roles. Clearly these models—whatever the impact of their policies on the women in their own countries—also cannot and should not be exported without major adaptation, or they too will undermine women's traditional roles. What is needed, therefore, is not an imported model, but rather an adaptation of development goals to each society—an adaptation that will ensure benefits for women as well as men.

MODULE V: Summary and Application of Learning

Total Time: 2 hours

Objectives:

1. To identify and discuss what participants have learned about women in development.
2. To explore and apply these conclusions to different areas of their role as PCV's.
3. To develop and assess strategies to increase the consideration given to women and their participation in development projects and their communities.

Overview:

This session will provide an opportunity for participants to consolidate their learning regarding women in development and discuss and clarify their ideas regarding WID. It will also provide an opportunity to apply some of this learning to activities PCV's can implement in their communities and projects and provide an overview of different ways in which WID can be integrated in the PCV's work.

Procedures:

Time	Activities
Introduction 5 min	1. Introduce session by briefly stating the goals and overview of session.
Individual work 10 min	2. Ask participants to individually identify the major things they have learned regarding women in development by writing down on a piece of paper the 4-5 thoughts or ideas which stand out in their minds as being most important about WID. Trainer can briefly summarize each WID session before participants start in order to help them remember and identify their learnings.

Subgroups
discussion
15 min

3. Ask participants to form into groups of 5-6 and share their most important conclusions of the program. Ask them to look for similarities and differences and select any ideas, questions, concerns, they want to present to the total group.

Group
discussion
20 min

4. Reconvene the group and ask participants for important ideas, questions, concerns, they discussed in their small groups. Example: "You have identified and discussed some of your conclusions regarding WID. Are there any important thoughts you want to share with the group? Any similarities or differences which surprised you? Were there any concerns raised in your small group discussion you want to bring to the group?"

A discussion follows based on statements and questions made by the participants. (See Trainer note #1.)

Individual
work
15 min

5. Ask participants to individually do the following task:

Task: Based on what you have learned about development and the role of women in development, what could you do differently (strategies, actions, activities) as a PVC starting development work, to be responsive to WID concerns. Think of the following aspects of your future work:

a) entering the community
b) getting to know the community
c) meeting community people and making friends
d) identifying community needs
e) participating or initiating community activities
f) entering the job
g) establishing secondary projects
h) evaluating "how are you doing" as a PVC

This is not an exhaustive list and participants do not need to address each of these areas. It is a guideline to help them think about the different aspects of their work and different actions they might take to consider WID in their projects and communities.

Subgroups analysis
20 min

6. Ask participants to form groups of 2 or 3 and discuss their individual analysis. As they discuss, they should pay attention to which actions or strategies seem to address women in development more effectively; which seem more feasible given the culture, men and women's roles, history and considerations in the host country; which are more practical and easy to implement. They should select the best strategies or activities to present to total group and receive feedback from other participants and resource persons. The subgroups task can be presented in flipchart as follows:

Task: Discuss your strategies or actions taking into consideration their effectiveness, cultural appropriateness and feasibility. If necessary, develop new strategies out of your discussion. Select the best strategies to present to the group and resource persons for analysis and feedback.

Group discussion
30 min

7. In general session, trainer asks for examples of participants strategies. A panel of resource persons composed of program managers, experienced volunteer(s), WID coordinator, host country persons, react to the proposed strategies using the following guidelines:

-most likely to succeed strategies and why
-most likely to fail strategies and why
-examples of successful programs, projects, strategies which take women into consideration and promote their participation
-suggestions and new ideas about strategies and activities which work and do not work based on their own experience

If a panel is not possible, or as an additional activity, a flipchart of successful programs and strategies can be presented and discussed by the trainer. It would be prepared in advance with the help of the program staff and other resources.

Closure 10 min	8. Trainer summarizes session by presenting or developing with the participants a list of different ways in which WID can take place in PC work. (See Brainstorm on strategies to integrate women in development projects as sample.)

Materials:

- -Task flipcharts for activities #5 and #6
- -Flipchart with guidelines for resource persons reactions
- -Flipchart of successful strategies and programs (Optional)
- -Flipchart of ways in which WID can take place in PC work (Optional)

Trainer Notes:

1. Activity #4 provides an opportunity for participants to clarify their conclusions and ideas regarding WID, talk about their concerns, "tie loose ends" and in general, consolidate their learnings before moving to the following "application" activity.

   There might not be clarifications or concerns the participants want to discuss. If so, the discussion should not be "pushed" or "forced" by the trainer and trainer should proceed with activity #5.

   On the other hand, there might be concerns, misunderstandings, negative reactions which have not surfaced before and that come out at this moment. The trainer needs to assess whether these are legitimate concerns which should be discussed in the group, or whether these are negative reactions of individuals which will not change no matter the amount of discussion or clarifications made. The latter should be dealt with individually and group time should not be used to discuss these cases extensively.

2. Activities 5, 6 and 7, but particularly activity #7 with the participation of resources can be very exciting and full of learning. Some examples of strategies which participants develop include: start a vegetable garden in my house or in a community plot and involve neighborhood children or women in its care and profit sharing; introduce myself to the families in the community and talk informally about who I am, who they

are, things they like, don't like about the community; talk to one woman a day or go to community places where women gather informally, converse with them and learn about their needs and problems; address family as a whole and deal with family unit; develop activities with children to gain entry with the families and the women, start small projects to ease the work load of women so they have more time for other activities, i.e. Lorena stoves; instead of offering solutions help people reach their own solutions; make suggestions about other ways of doing things; use myself as model or example.

SAMPLE

Brainstorm on Strategies to Integrate Women in Development Projects

- Asking, listening and observing in order to identify women's needs.
- Identifying women's roles, opportunities and handicaps.
- Identifying cultural, social, family and other patterns which impact on women positively and negatively.
- Identifying, developing and using women leaders and supportive men.
- Identifying positive and negative effects of projects on women and children.
- Helping in the development and advancement of women counterparts.
- Developing and implementing income generating activities or projects for women.
- Integrating women into decision making levels of project planning, implementation and evaluation.
- Introducing and training for time saving devices for women's domestic tasks.
- Providing opportunities for women to move from traditional roles and jobs, to non-traditional roles or jobs.
- Providing programs or activities to strengthen women's traditional roles, i.e. status, income, social rewards.
- Helping government, other developers and community people look at the role of WID.
- Raising productivity of tasks performed by women.
- Identifying and using local organizations traditionally supportive or women.
- Researching, analysing and using data or women's role and status.

- Sharing, exchanging information and analyzing failures and successes of projects directed to women's needs.

- Helping and educating other women and men, in order to increase their understanding and support of WID.

Module V-8

Women in Development: Defining an Approach

Judith A. Hermanson

The phrase "women in development" is fairly new to the vocabulary of the development community. However, it is a phrase that, together with its acronym "wid," is much bandied about. This has its advantages and its disadvantages. On the one hand, the phrase at least surfaces the issue of women's participation in the development process. On the other hand, it shares with other catch phrases the problem of being ill-defined.

"Women in development" is not the only phrase used in the development community that could benefit from better definition. Which two people, for instance, have the same understanding of what the phrases "the poorest of the poor," "appropriate technology" and "basic human needs" mean? The catch phrase tends to oversimplify and as a result, sometimes to communicate different ideas to different people. With "women in development," however, there is another difficulty as well. Often people interpret it in light of some of their own basic assumptions about women's roles and so their ideas about it tend to be emotionally laden.

Nonetheless, beyond the catch phrase "women in development" lies a concept that may be critical to the nature of development in the Third World. This paper is an attempt to net some of the complexities that it contains and to provide an expanded sense of what "women in development" might mean for Peace Corps.

Why should we be concerned with women in particular?" One might ask. And with reason. The response is that in attempting to define women in development, the stress must be placed on "in development". We have begun to find that to assume that women are "being taken care of" in the course of development in general is not safe assumption to make. It is not necessarily true that women will advance as their countries advance. Indeed, there are documented examples of well intentioned development projects that have impacted negatively on the position of women within a particular culture. [1] Women have sometimes been robbed of status, secure social positions and economic opportunities as a result of such projects. For instance, in many countries in Africa, where women have traditionally done much of the agricultural work, development projects introducing mechanization and cash crops have usually ignored women's role. The consequence in such cases is that women have been barred from the economic opportunities that by practice belong to them.

With regard to their own positions in their societies, they have lost standing vis a vis the position that they once held. The emphasis of development projects on men's roles, with women left, for the most part, in their traditional roles--at least, what are traditional roles in the eyes of planners with Western orientations, who assume that women in subsistence societies play the same types of roles as middle class Western women -- holds the potential for social dislocation. As the gap between traditional ways and new ways comes to be demarcated in terms of sex roles, women will remain in the subsistence economy, while men participate in the income -producing, technologically-based economy that is the legacy of development. The clearly defined and mutually supportive male and female roles of the traditional culture will no longer apply and there will be a schism between the sexes. Clearly, the implications for development are great: when there are no common points of reference within a society there is inherent instability. For such a serious reason, Peace Corps as well as other development planners have an obligation to focus attention on women.

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[1] See for example Irene Tinker, "The adverse impact of Development on Women, " Women And World Development, ed. Irene Tinker and Michele Bo Bramser (Overseas Development Council, Washington, D.C.: 1976), pp. 22-34.

All of this is said, however, we recognize that in talking about women in development programs, the program planner encounters at least two possible dangers of being misunderstood. These dangers are:

- that such programs will be conceived of as an offshoot of "Women's Lib" and not applicable to or wanted by women in traditional societies;
- that such projects will be conceived of as a fad, subject to the fashions or politics of the time, and not a serious development effort.

If women in development programs are perceived in either or both of these ways by host country officials, Peace Corps staff, or Peace Corps Volunteers, efforts to consider carefully the roles of women and to develop programs that would benefit them will yield nothing. In fact, they may even have negative repercussions. However, if women in development is placed within its proper context, it becomes clear that what is being talked about is not another form of cultural imperialism or a frivolous concern. Neither is it divorced from general development efforts. In this context, it becomes clear that these efforts are, in fact, central to the development goals of host countries and to Peace Corps programming philosophy.

For Peace Corps in particular, it would seem that addressing the problems and examining the potentials of women within a particular culture that is itself coping with change are truly congruent with its mission. Certainly, they would coincide with a programming philosophy concerned with basic human needs. Women are the nurturers in almost all societies and so have a large responsibility for the next generation; women are often the providers of food and water for their families and so directly affect their physical well-being; women are often those in a society that have the least access to power (economic or political) and so have the least possibility of shaping their own lives; women are those among the "have nots" who have most frequently been left behind in the development process. Viewed in this light, women in development programs assume an undeniable centrality to the development process as a whole and to Peace Corps programming efforts in particular.

Attention should be paid both to the adverse consequences that may have occurred as the result of development and to the potential benefits that may occur when women are full participants in the process. The question of how to go about formulating women in development programs, however, poses another set of problems. It is important to stress here that it is not possible to focus on women in development without also understanding "men in development". Both men and women have roles to play and it is critical to consider the society holistically, even when focusing on a particular aspect. Within this general context, there are basically three kinds of programs:

- those that are focused specifically on the needs of women;
- those that are more generally focused, but that have a component that focuses on the need of women; and
- those that do not focus on the needs specific to women but that address women and men equally, while yet enhancing women's position.

Programs that do not fall into these categories may also have implications for women, of course, and they should be looked at for their neutrality, to ensure that they do not adversely affect women.

In order to develop programs that will benefit women, there are obstacles. For instance, much has been written about the lack of information about the role of women. How can a project be developed if we do not know what women do? That is a valid question, of course, because such a lack has implications for the soundness of any women in development programs that are developed. Without information it may be difficult, in many instances, to ascertain whether a planned program is correctly focused. However, a belief that there is inadequate data should not serve as a reason not to attempt women in development programming.

First, today's inadequate data is quite different from yesterday's; there is, in fact, much more information about the role of women in various countries than there was even five years ago. For the aware and interested program planner, much information already exists. Often it is a simple matter of asking the question. The program planner should beware also of the "inadequate information cop-out." Is the data standard being imposed on a women in development project higher than that imposed on projects of other types? It should not be. Further, much of the information necessary for Peace Corps project planning should be gained during the programming process, as a routine matter. There are a variety of checks that can be built into the programming process that will help to ensure the effectiveness of programming. With attention focused on women, questions that arise in any sound programming process will provide these checks.

The following checklist of questions will provide the program planner with a practical tool to assess the feasibility and the potential impact of the project itself.[1] This checklist can be used on any level, but has been designed for use primarily at the local or village level. The sources of the information should be the women themselves, as well as the existing power structures -- eg., village governments, local representatives of central governments, and provincial governments. This checklist follows:

Checklist

- What problems that women have will this program address? Have women participated in their definition? (Direct participation is a primary concern and provides a reasonably reliable check on the process.)
- How will it address them? Will these means be acceptable to the women? To their husbands? To others in the community? How can you tell?
- Is it reasonable to expect that women will be able to participate in the program as structured? Does it conflict with other duties? Do they have enough time? Are they interested? How can you tell?
- Are there any short-term pay-offs or indicators of success? Will the women be able to see the usefulness of the activity? Have they had any previous experience with similar activities? What was the nature of that experience?
- What is the relationship of the project to other institutions? Are there competing projects? What is the role of women in the management/implementation? Can they play a large part?
- What is the likely impact of the project, if it achieves its goals, on the structure of the women's lives? On the structure of the lives of community? (By attempting to make such as analysis, you should try to anticipate any possible negative impacts).
- Will it raise the status of women? Will it integrate them into the development process? By providing them with cash? By shoring up their traditional sources of authority? By providing new opportunities?

For Peace Corps these questions must, of course, be asked within the larger context of the Peace Corps program criteria and the Country Management Plan of the particular country. For other planners, it must be used within the context of their own program guidelines.

In addition to being used in the programming of new women in development programs, this checklist can also serve as a useful tool in assessing and perhaps in redirecting existing programs. Certainly, it would be desirable to ascertain that existing programs are not having any adverse effects on women.

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[1] In addition, there exists several different Guidelines that have been developed by various organizations for the purposes of their own women in development programming. Among those are the United Nations Development Programme, Guidelines on the Integration of Women in Agricultural and Rural Development Projects, which gives rather specific questions that should be addressed in the course of developing women in development programs in these sectors; and the Criteria for Evaluation of Development Projects Involving Women developed by the Subcommittee on Development Assistance, American Service, Inc. (ACVAFS), which poses general questions to serve as check points for the assessment of women in development projects that are already in place.

In the course of developing and redirecting programs to address women in development issues, program planners should work in a variety of sectors. Women in development means projects in the "nontraditional" and "traditional" areas. It means work in food production as well as nutrition; in economic development as well as family planning; in water supply as well as health. If program planners turn their attention to "women in development programs" what will emerge is a multisectoral array of activities -- and for Peace Corps, activities involving both men and women Volunteers -- that spans the spectrum of development projects.

What do Women Want?

by Barbara Rogers, School of Development Studies, University of East Anglia, Norwich, U.K.

What do men need from appropriate technology? It all depends – where they are, how they earn their living, what the local technology offers – each man has a unique life-style and faces different problems. These same needs should apply to women, and the fact that the separate question 'what do women want?' has to be asked so often shows male bias in the development process as a whole, from which people involved in appropriate technology are by no means exempt. What they have produced for women, if they deal with them at all, are items geared to the western man's idea of what a woman's work is or should be – domestic.

The failure to consider women's need for technological innovation in an appropriate form can be attributed to two commonly-held views. One is that women are seen as a special, minority interest reserved for domestic science or 'home economics' projects, and the other is that women are looked upon as not being worthy of consideration – some AT enthusiasts simply forget about them. It will take a long time for appropriate technologies to be designed and made available to both men and women, and until that happens our efforts will be sadly incomplete, and in some cases counter-productive.

Let it be added that the development of cooking stoves and other related household equipment is necessary, as the response of village women has made very clear. For example, in Zambia a researcher was looking into the need for more efficient cooking equipment which could cut down the time and effort involved in carrying firewood. She had made carefully-phased visits to selected women in a village, cautiously building up a relationship until she felt able to comment on the fire smouldering away in one of the houses and tentatively suggested helping to build an improved version. The response from the women was an angry one: had she been visiting them all this time chatting about unimportant matters when all along she had had this knowledge which was of such importance to them?

Generally, village women are very enthusiastic about innovations which will lighten their daily workload. As men become more involved in mechanisation – whether on the farm or as migrant labourers elsewhere – women are becoming like beasts of burden. They are constantly taking on new tasks in agriculture as the men down tools, and their own traditional jobs are often made more difficult by the mechanisation of the men's; an improved plough, for example, which tills more land, will often increase the manual labour involved in weeding. They also have an increasing dependency burden as children go to school and become unavailable for field work; this is becoming a serious problem all over Africa – education seems to instill a contempt for work in the fields.

Let us now consider the case of well-digging. In many areas, women are thoroughly familiar with local water supplies and the day-to-day needs for water. They are the ones who could be made aware of the possibilities that would be opened up by increased supplies (better housing in some areas, improved sanitation, dry season vegetable plots); seasonal variations in supply and demand; and the actual labour input involved in traditional methods of obtaining water. In many cases, they will have already noticed the link between dirty water and certain kinds of disease. Why, then, is it so very common to see well-meaning westerners working only with the village men in planning, designing and constructing village wells? This happened in the case of a voluntary agency in Upper Volta (whose head office advertises for funds for well-digging in that country) and resulted in such serious failure that the whole programme of providing village water supplies had to be abandoned. The local representative, one of the agency's best men, complained that he had done everything possible – called all the men of the village together, arranged for the equipment to come, worked with them on an appropriately labour-intensive technology, but when they reached the water table, they absolutely refused to dig any deeper. It was useless to argue that the water-level would fall in the dry season: they did not believe it. Then, when the well ran dry, they came begging for more help from the agency man. When asked why he had dealt only with the men in the first place and not involved the women the agency man replied that he'd forgotten about them. Yet they could well have been more understanding.

Women – experts on water.

Water is not the only area where women are the experts – forestry is another as it is the women who collect the wood, carry it home, chop it up and use it for cooking. They are the ones who are sensitive to a growing scarcity of firewood,

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Carpentry training in Tanzania.

to the increasing distances involved in finding it and the time and energy demanded from people already overloaded physically. Even in the towns, they are the ones responsible for finding the money to pay for increasingly-expensive firewood. It is no wonder, then, that they are so anxious to adopt any innovation which is likely to reduce the amount of wood needed for cooking. They can also contribute much to the planning of reforestation projects; in Upper Volta, an FAO forester found that village women, involved in discussions of village plantations, insisted on the planting of certain fruit-bearing trees which he had not considered. These trees offer an important economic advantage in terms of karité nuts and other products which could be sold, and as spices for local dishes in addition to the ultimate use of the felled trees as firewood. The idea of tree-farming, in fact, could in many areas be introduced most effectively in co-operation with the local women.

Another innovation which is adopted with great enthusiasm is crop processing equipment. A familiar sight in many villages is the hand-pounding of grains and root crops by women, which takes up enormous amounts of time and energy. The innovations which have been adopted spontaneously have often involved a radical change in diet to avoid foods which take more energy in processing, even though they may be more valuable nutritionally. Where mechanical mills are available, women will go to great lengths to make use of them, even where they have to walk great distances and pay quite large sums of money for the service.

Some of the innovations which have proved most interesting to many village women are, at first glance, surprising to those westerners who regard the women as unimaginative, deeply conservative, and generally backward, simply because so few of them have been formally educated. However, this does not seem to be a barrier to the acceptance of new ideas. Mention is increasingly made of the traditional midwives as efficient channels for introducing appropriate technology into the heart of the village. In Upper Volta, for example, a small project attempting to equalise women's and men's educational opportunities had set up one-month training courses for village midwives. This had resulted in a number of improvements in local maternity care, a regional referral system for difficult cases, and a big step forward in preventive health care. The women had seen for themselves, through a microscope, the organisms in contaminated water which cause disease and had adopted a technique of filtering water, using local clay pots filled with sand, gravel and charcoal. Within a couple of years these filters were being used as a matter of course throughout the villages. Men as well as women were very positive about the declining rate of intestinal illnesses which resulted – although some women added that there was still a problem with trying to filter the very muddy water available during the dry season. A deeper well was clearly identified as a priority need.

Some of the areas where it seems appropriate technology would particularly benefit women have remained almost completely unexplored. The most obvious of these is by making tools for cultivating the fields and harvesting the produce. In many areas, men are associated with land clearance and ploughing, while women do much of the cultivation after that. It appears that the men's tasks are much more easily tackled by mechanisation than the women's – although that is a poor excuse for the disproportionate amount of effort that goes into designing ploughs, compared to the development of weeders. It is high time that more effort was put into designing tools for making efficient use of women's time in the fields. In some cases, women have adopted a very high level of technology in agriculture, even where the formal training for this excluded them. In an irrigated vegetable scheme in Zambia, for example, the women teach each other the use of chemicals, equipment and techniques of various kinds, and several of them without any formal education have become quite expert at the various plant diseases and the pesticides applied. The most efficient growers on this scheme, which supplies vegetables for the markets of the Copperbelt, are women; the local traders who provide the marketing networks are, in many cases, women with relatively large businesses; and the most successful training officer is a woman. Yet only a few years ago, the management was refusing to admit women to its training courses at all.

In the same area, informal groups of women organised by 'domestic science' workers are starting to give top priority to learning more modest techniques of agricultural production in order to boost the scarce food supplies they are producing for growing numbers of dependents. Knitting and sewing are all very well, but non-essential in a warm climate and should never be substituted for the skills and new techniques needed by poor people for survival.

All too often, AT enthusiasts proclaim their commitment to poor people, while completely failing to realise their bias against the poorest of all – the village woman and her dependents. Because of prejudice against women, and their relegation to an invisible domestic sphere, there is a need for people in almost all AT projects to stop and think carefully about whom they are really benefiting. Ultimately, perhaps, we will reach a situation where everyone is considered equally eligible for introduction to appropriate technology, and we can confidently ask the question 'What do *people* want?'.

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